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Near East/South Asia Report

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ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

ARMENIAN TERRORISM SAID DECLINING

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Feb 85 p 1

[Text] Turkish authorities plan to keep a very close eye on the trial of the alleged perpetrators of the Orly airport terrorist attack (in which eight people were killed in July 1983). The hearings opened last Tuesday 19 February before the Creteil court. They see it, to quote the daily MILLIYET, as a chance to gauge "the new determination of France -- now almost a second home for terrorists of all stripes -- to fight terrorism."

Hyperbole almost always dissolves into the ridiculous. That is certainly the case of MILLIYET's accusations. For the time being, the infamous attack at Orly would indeed appear to have marked both the apogee and the start of the decline of Armenian terrorism in France. It is still far too early to begin celebrating victory, because when it comes to combating terrorism there is never any definitive victory. It is a fact, however, that there has been no really serious Armenian terrorist attack in France since July of 1983.

Credit for that should doubtless go first to the French police, who initially were inclined to under-estimate the movement. The fact remains, though, that the factional splits that are spreading implacably among Armenians who support the resort to violence have also played a considerable role in weakening this particular brand of terrorism. The decline in Armenian terrorist outrages, however, by no means signifies that there are no more Armenian terrorists, merely that most of those who are left have joined the nebulous entity known as international terrorism. There is, for instance, good reason to believe that most of the founders of the Secret Armenian Liberation Army (ASALA), who used to operate out of Beirut, have since moved to Syria. They are more concerned, apparently, with destabilizing certain western nations than with the survival of a nation last mentioned in the 1920 Treaty of Sevres, but mysteriously overlooked in the treaty signed at Lausanne 3 years later.

Some Armenian terrorists are motivated solely by nationalistic concerns -- among them the members of the Armenian Revolutionary Army, who replaced the Genocide Avengers (JDG) and who have no quarrel with anybody but representatives of the Turkish government. They, too, seem to be soft-pedaling activities denounced by the vast majority of the Armenian community that has chosen France as its second -- if not its permanent home.

This lull does not mean that the Armenian problem, too, has disappeared, or that Ankara can now be considered as having paid for what is quite rightly called the 1915 genocide. History, of course, is fraught with massacres, and a good many peoples have paid tribute in blood to fanaticism and intolerance. Therefore we must not allow the states guilty of those crimes to go on denying that they ever happened and to don the pathetic garb of innocent victims when they are reminded of those crimes. And yet, that is precisely the mantle in which all the Turkish leaders wrap themselves. The present prime minister, Turgut Ozal, is no exception to that rule: he has just announced that there can be "no question of any different approach" on his part, and that "No one has the right to ask the Turkish Republic for a single inch of territory or to blame the Republic."

Doesn't this obstinate refusal to accept past history constitute, in a way, further encouragement for terrorism?

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CSO: 4619/40

ARMENIAN AFFAIRS

FOUNDER OF ARMENIAN SURVEILLANCE ON HELSINKI ACCORD DEAD

Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Feb 85 p 4

[Text] Economist Edvart Aroutounian, 59, co-founder of the Armenian Helsinki Watch Group, is dead after his removal in extremis from a labor camp by the gulag's officials, according to several organizations that monitor the status of human rights in the Soviet Union. According to Mr Cronid Lubarsky, who publishes the Munich-based USSR NEWS BRIEF, Aroutounian's death came either late in November or early in December of last year. The Committee to Report on and Defend Armenian Political Prisoners Throughout the World (CIDPPAM) notes that it was at Erivan on 1 April 1977 that Edvart Aroutounian and four others (physicist Robert Nazarian, painter Hampartsouni Khigaitian, a laborer named Chaguen Aroutounian, and a student, Samuel Ossian) founded the Armenian Helsinki-Watch Group.

Since then, the Soviet authorities can hardly be said to have stopped persecuting human-rights activists. Edvart Aroutounian had escaped an early wave of arrests on 22 November 1978. However, he was summoned for the first time before the KGB at Erivan on 13 July 1979, for having protested the treatment meted out to the Kevorkian family, who had been evicted from a "sovkhoz" (state farm) and left homeless and penniless. After a month of close surveillance by the State Security police, Aroutounian was committed to the Serbsky Psychiatric Institute. Thanks to persistent and warmly supported pressure by his family (a press conference called by his father, who is a famous physician in Soviet Armenia; threats by his mother to immolate herself), he was released from the asylum, only to be sentenced on 10 March 1980 to 2 years and 6 months in a strict-regime camp for "spreading anti-Soviet slanders." He was freed upon completion of his sentence in January 1982, already seriously ill with a kidney ailment. Aroutounian was again arrested on 10 November 1982, along with two other activists who had tried to reconstitute the Armenian Helsinki Watch committee which had already been broken up once. On 6 January 1983, he was sentenced to 3 years in a camp for hooliganism (bad conduct).

Held at first in Banaoul prison near Altai (where it was discovered that he had cancer), he was later transferred to a camp in the Magadan region, in northern Siberia. According to all indications, says the USSR NEWS BRIEF, the authorities allowed him to return home very shortly before his death.

The French Socialist Party, in a statement, expressed "its grief and censure at the attitude of the Soviet authorities, whose sole concern seems to be strengthening the repressive apparatus." The PS national secretariat for human rights noted that "within the lapse of a few months, several dissidents have died" in the Soviet Union, "and others are living under inhuman conditions for having called for compliance with the Helsinki Agreements."

In August 1984, Ukrainian poet and journalist Yuriy Litvin committed suicide in a labor camp; two more Ukrainian dissidents, Olekhsi Tikhy and Valeriy Marcherko, died in their prison cells, the former in May and the latter in October 1984.

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CSO: 4619/40

EGYPT

'ABD-AL-MAJID INTERVIEWED ON PALESTINIAN SOLUTION MOVES

London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic 13-19 Feb 85 pp 17-19

[Interview with Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, Egyptian foreign minister, by 'Imad-al-Din Adib in London: "Our Disagreement with Israel Does Not Mean Revoking Camp David"; date of interview not specified]

[Text] Holding a dialogue with Dr 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid, the Egyptian foreign minister, is difficult, and obtaining a news item or a scoop from him is almost impossible! Furthermore, unnerving him is something rare!

For these reasons, AL-MAJALLAH's task of holding a dialogue with him, during his visit to the British capital, was like a surgical operation carried out to attain what was concealed in Dr 'Abd-al-Majid's diplomatic pouch.

The Egyptian foreign minister's career, in diplomacy has lasted well over a third of a century, the last years of which he spent as head of the permanent Egyptian delegation to the United Nations.

International law experts working at the United Nations are known for their awesome precision in choosing expressions and utterances, so that it has proven difficult for newsmen to draw them into pitfalls.

Despite the above-mentioned fact, and despite Dr 'Ismat's vehement insistence on accuracy, the heated "dialogue" made the man reveal some things which he had kept to himself.

The meeting with Dr 'Abd-al-Majid at exactly this time is important because several issues are now in an extremely delicate phase.

The Egyptian-Jordanian relationships awaits a decisive settlement of the issue of the Palestinian-Jordanian relationship.

The Egyptian-U.S. relationship awaits U.S. President Ronald Reagan's administration taking a stand on the list of Egyptian demands which Egyptian President Husni Mubarak will submit during his visit to Washington next March.

The Egyptian-Israeli relationship awaits a decisive settlement by the government of Shimon Peres of the issue of occupied Tabah, the final

withdrawal from Lebanon and the beginning of negotiations on self-determination for the Palestinian people.

All these things which are waiting on the tense Middle East "stove" until they cook are in pressing need of large-scale diplomatic moves.

The importance of the event, as well as of the interview and of the interview itself, derives from the above-mentioned points.

The following is the text of the dialogue:

[Question] Dr 'Abd-al-Majid, any visit that is made by a head of state to another country has a goal. The visit to be made in March to the United States by President Mubarak raises many questions about its objectives. Does the visit come at a time when the Egyptian-U.S. relationship is at a crossroads?

[Answer] The visit which his excellency the president will make to the United States comes in a period which I do not call a crossroads. However, it is a phase which is important, so far as the Arab state of affairs and the international situation are concerned.

If we take an analytical look at this visit, we find that it follows the reelection of President Reagan and the beginning of his second term as president. The visit also follows the appearance of trends in the Arab world, some of which are constructive and some of which are not constructive, the presence of a new government in Israel and the beginning of a U.S.-Soviet dialogue. All these reasons together are taken into consideration. Furthermore, it is imperative to activate, and to address, the Middle East issue and the Palestinian issue.

I refer to the constructive trends in the Arab world, such as the Jordanian-Palestinian rapprochement achieved through the convening of the Palestine National Council [PNC] in Amman. Furthermore, the Front of Steadfastness and Confrontation is trying to reunite its ranks--it has convened recently, and this is a phenomenon which is worthy of observation and attention. As far as Israel is concerned, a trend has emerged on the part of the Peres government. We consider this trend a kind of flexibility and readiness for a solution, the evidence being that Peres has not made the withdrawal of his forces from Lebanon contingent on a Syrian withdrawal, although the Israeli forces' withdrawal from Lebanon is based on circumstances connected with Israel--and we wish Lebanon alone will gain control of its land.

At the same time, there is the U.S.-Soviet dialogue. This phenomenon is not as new as it is recent. We remember that after the October 1983 war, a international conference was convened in Geneva and it was attended by Egypt, Syria, Jordan and Israel.

I place President Mubarak's visit within this context. However, we have to wait for what this visit will achieve.

Concerning Egypt, and this is my assessment of the situation and of what President Mubarak advocates, we should talk by way of the unity of Arab ranks, and we should insist on the need for a dialogue to be held between the Palestinians and the United States. Therefore, I say that the matter is not one of a crossroads, inasmuch as it is a series of existing given facts which are worthy of stopping to ponder them.

I repeat my words for the Arab brothers: it is imperative that we as Arabs know what we want to do and that we do not wait to see what the United States will do, if we ourselves are even unable to agree on the convening of a summit conference. The summit conference, which was to be held in November, was postponed until January and then until next April. This situation confirms that some quarters are not serious. Things being such, then what do you think of the other original topics?

Search for Solutions

[Question] I am not comparing Egyptian moves with Arab moves. What concerns me is the existence of an attempt to search for solutions through the United States. Does the possibility actually exist that a solution will be forwarded by the United States, or is the United States waiting for the Arab side to present something specific? I mean, is it waiting for a solution to be forwarded, or are we the ones who are waiting for the United States to present something?

[Answer] First, I do not know whether the United States will present something. I cannot, before I arrive there, talk and judge. However, we have some proposals and we have spelled them out and repeated them: the Palestinian people have the right to self-determination. I consider this a main principle prior to our movement. We said the same thing at Camp David, as well as prior to Camp David and after it. This is our stand and it will not change.

Second, it is imperative to hold a dialogue between the United States and the FLO. Basically, responsibility stays with the Arab stand, not with the United States.

[Question] I believe that there is a major point of difference and essence in what you have kindly said about the Egyptian stance and the initiative of King Husayn, which he presented at the first meeting of the PNC in Amman. King Husayn's initiative does not include the Palestinian representation wanted by Egypt. Furthermore, the argument, or the dialogue, which is now going on between Amman and Tunis--where the Palestinians are present--deals with the form of the relationship, or the extent of the assimilation of the Palestinians and the Jordanians. What is the Egyptian attitude, especially because it has recognized this new triangle?

[Answer] We believe that King Husayn's initiative deserves full encouragement by the Palestinian brothers. We spoke with him about Resolution 242. The Security Council and the great powers had achieved a consensus on

Resolution 242, and we can say that it is the legal basis of any peace process in the area. We have accepted it. Furthermore, Jordan has accepted it and many countries have accepted it too. It was rejected by four Arab states on the grounds that it does not give the Palestinian people their rights as a people but as "refugees."

In our opinion as Arabs, the Palestinian people existed prior to 1967 and after 1967. However, so far as the United Nations is concerned, when it passed this resolution in 1967, the Palestinian issue did not preoccupy the United Nations as it has in the seventies. When the resolution was drafted, the Palestinian people's rights had not originally been under discussion. However, what had been submitted for discussion were the Israeli aggression, which had occurred against the Arab countries, and the way this aggression could be ended. Resolution 242 was based on the inadmissibility of the forcible acquisition of land. Therefore, the basis of the law, on which Resolution 242 was based, was not the Palestinian issue, but the Israeli aggression. Accordingly, the principal rule, that is, the nonacquisition of land by force, was laid down, together with the ensuing need for a settlement of existing issues through peaceful means. It may be that some people wonder: how do we accept this and take it as a resolution? However, the resolution must be viewed from the perspective of the benefit which can be derived. We can now accept Resolution 242 and register a reservation about the special part, saying: We do not accept it and we do not concede the Palestinian people's rights.

Ask Them

[Question] If such is the philosophy of Resolution 242, is it possible for the Palestinians to issue a statement of their acceptance of the inadmissibility of the forcible occupation of territory, and can the PLO issue a statement to this effect?

[Answer] What prevents them from doing this? This question should be addressed to them, not to me. They always say that they stand opposed to the forcible occupation of territory.

[Question] They do not accept Resolution 242 because, as Mahmud Riyad--former Arab League secretary and a contributor to this resolution--said, this resolution was not passed for the sake of the Palestinians but to deal with the forcible occupation of territory.

[Answer] I do not want to put myself in the place of the Palestinian brothers and to tell them what they should do and what they should not do. However, if you ask me about Egypt's opinion on this subject, then this is precisely Egypt's opinion.

[Question] Great. What is now being proposed to the Palestinians by Egypt and Jordan is acceptance of Resolution 242. What Syria is proposing to the Palestinians is nonacceptance of Resolution 242. What is being proposed to the Palestinians by Libya is Colonel al-Qadhafi's idea, that is, fighting a war until they commit suicide in Lebanon. According to the Palestinian

viewpoint, all these proposals are solutions that are either impractical on the one hand or squander sovereignty on the other. Why does not Egypt, the sole country which almost best understands the Palestinians, make its initiative at a time when Reagan makes his initiative?

[Answer] We advocate a Palestinian-U.S. dialogue because we cannot take the place of the Palestinian side. There are limits beyond which it is impossible for us to go. The Palestinians are a democratic organization which holds different views. However, all we can offer are some ideas and some means. I cannot put myself in the place of the Palestinians and demand what they want. We tried and we did not achieve any results, because they said: You have no mandate. We expected Camp David to be an attempt to break the rigidity in the issue, and Camp David includes some paragraphs referring to the Palestinian people's legitimate rights. Furthermore, Camp David includes stipulations on a transitional period, after which the Palestinians will determine their own fate 5 years later. Therefore, there was a possibility for doors to be opened, but it was attacked. Furthermore, we found that the Israeli interpretation of Camp David disagreed with the Egyptian interpretation.

Camp David Now

[Question] If we now want to describe Camp David at present, what is it? There are many people who overemphasize it. It is an agreement in two parts: one part on Sinai; it ended with the Israeli withdrawal, but Israel remains in Tabah. The second part concerns the Palestinians exclusively. Your excellency said, if the expression is correct, that it is frozen.

[Answer] Our interpretation of the agreement and the Israeli sides interpretation do not agree with each other. Therefore, the special discussions came to a halt.

[Question] Therefore, when some quarters demand the revocation of Camp David...?

[Answer, 'Abd-al-Majid interrupting] I do not accept this concept. This attempt is not as simple as you imagine it is. We honor our international commitments and obligations. I do not agree with the Israeli side's interpretation. However, this does not signify that I should take a measure which jeopardizes international obligations. It is imperative that the Arab brothers understand and appreciate this commitment.

[Question] The truth is that some persons believe that Camp David imposes a special kind of relationship between Egypt and Israel with regard to diplomatic relations. For instance, it is possible for Egypt to sever its relations with Iraq or Morocco even if, for the sake of argument, we suppose that Egypt will be the one which will make the severance decision. However, it is not possible, because of Camp David, for Egypt to sever relations with Israel. My question is: Will it be possible one day for Egyptian-Israeli relations to be broken off, if the Israeli government commits a set of violations?

[Answer] You are asking me a hypothetical question and, in fact, I do not answer hypothetical questions. We are talking about the actual situation. I do not believe that any person who answers hypothetical questions thinks correctly. However, if such an event happens, then I will define my stance. As I have said, I have international obligations and so long as the other side respects these international obligations, then I respect them too. I now hear voices making demands that detract from my sovereignty. I do not accept this, nor do I accept undesirable conditions being imposed on me. Otherwise, Egypt will be robbed of its existence, a fate which it would deserve. Frankly, I do not consider such statements as being feasible or realistic.

[Question] Therefore, the matter of detraction from sovereignty will be rejected by some Arabs and it will be rejected by Israel if you try to do this.

[Answer] Let us be clearer in what we say. There were attempts to resolve the Palestinian issue. However, we could not implement these attempts owing to vergent interpretations. The questions now being asked are: how is it possible for the Palestinian side to break the existing rigidity? What will be the decision of the PLO in Tunis, and how will it meet with Jordan? Egypt cannot tell the Palestinians how they will meet. We only express our viewpoints as being this or that thing. Decision making is in their hands, not in my hands. If they are unable to make a decision, then this is something else. I do not make the decision. However, we have a role to play in, and a responsibility for, the issue. We are the ones who have made the greatest sacrifices. We are the ones who have paid the highest price with regard to their responsibility. We continue to try to find a just and honorable solution, and it is incumbent upon them to continue the process with us.

Proving the Moves

[Question] In an interview with the Kuwaiti newspaper AL-WATAN, Muhammad Hasanayn Haykal said that he believes that the recent Egyptian-Jordanian initiative has been aimed at proving that there are moves being made and that Jordan and Egypt do not see a specific and tangible thing. However, what both have done was aimed at proving that there are moves.

[Answer] What is the proof that Hasanayn Hyakal presents for this statement?

[Question] But is the Egyptian move based on the existence of something, or is the move being made so that activity will continue in order that something, which may be called "momentum," will not die?

[Answer] If Jordan and Egypt have taken upon themselves the responsibility for making moves, does this mean that camouflaging is the purpose of these moves? This is a very painful thing. This is an act of casting doubt, because both sides are serious.

[Question] He did not say camouflaging?

[Answer] I am not saying that he said this. However, he has said that moves are being made just for the sake of making moves. Therefore, this becomes a camouflaging process. Let us come to the momentum-generating process of which you have spoken: if this helps enliven the issue, then this means that, to a certain degree, we are trying to carry out our responsibilities and we are not in the position of the one who kills the issue, as some people do. By killing, I mean physical liquidation, for instance, or moral killing. In reality, had all the responsible Arab officials tried to unify their outlooks and close their ranks, the situation would have been different from what it is now. For example, while we see the Egyptian-Jordanian moves being made and while we see the PNC being convened in Amman following negotiations and discussions that lasted about a year, we also see forces existing within the Arab world that want to liquidate some persons physically, and these forces have actually succeeded, as they have succeeded in assassinating the late Fahd al-Qawasimah. This is what makes me feel pain as an Arab citizen, while I defend the frail image--and I want the image to improve, even to a small extent. Therefore, we must not be accused of moving just for the sake of moving. Let him present what he has, and I believe that there is a great deal that can be done. However, the contradictory, or conflicting, forces do not leave room for any action to be carried out.

U.S. Relationship

[Question] Let us again go back to the Egyptian-U.S. relationship. Obviously, there are aspects in the relationship between the two countries to which Egypt objects, such as the U.S. conditions concerning economic relations and the demand made on Egypt that there be a legal agreement through which it will be easy for the Egyptians to make deals. Furthermore, we find that the volume of U.S. economic transactions and investments in Egypt is only \$61 million--and this is not commensurate with the size of the relationship between the two countries. Also with regard to the time-tables for arms deliveries, will all these matters be raised during the president's visit?

[Answer] There can be no doubt that they will be raised and discussed in all their details. We will demand that aid be increased, noting that world economic circumstances now impose on Egypt some conditions. We will discuss all these things in detail, and it is no secret that Egypt should make all these demands.

When it comes to the small volume of U.S. investment, it is indeed small and we will demand more. The largest part of the economic investments now being made in Egypt, mostly consists of Egyptian investments first, of Arab investments second, and of European and U.S. investments third. This means that Egyptians head the list of those who invest in Egypt, and this is something which delights us, because you find that a large number of the factories and installations which have now been set up in Egypt have been built with Egyptian funds.

[Question] There are some who hold the view that increasing the reliance on the United States in the economic and armaments domains largely affects the scope of movement for Egyptian decision making.

[Answer] I am not an armaments expert. However, I figure that we appreciate U.S. military aid and regard it as something fundamental. The relationship between us and the United States is a good one; it is a friendly relationship. Undoubtedly, this relationship preserves for us the freedom to exercise our rights. Our friendship with the United States is based on mutual respect, as well as on Egypt being appreciated as an element of stability and as having its weight in the area.

[Question] Do not you believe that this description endows U.S. policy with an angelic character? For instance, it is impossible for the United States to give me aid and then permit me full freedom of movement. This makes Egypt unable to make a decision which would conflict, for instance, with U.S. national security or with U.S. interests.

[Answer] We do not embark on suppositions. However, Egypt, for example, did not approve of the presence of a U.S. military base. Egypt is free in its polity and its stances and in determining its fate. We achieve understanding with the U.S. side, even if there is a divergence of opinion. I say this through experience, not just through talk. Up to this time, the United States has not interfered in Egyptian domestic affairs. We deal with the United States most respectfully, as equals. It is a friendly country whose aid and role we appreciate, and there is no problem of this kind.

Arab Relationship

[Question] Whenever an Egyptian responsible official is asked about the Egyptian-Arab relationship, he gives the extremely polite and diplomatic answer that Egypt gives every country the right to make its own decisions. Some quarters consider this to be a calm, soft method. There are many countries and, frankly, what is required is to know the extent of the relationship between them and Egypt. For instance, concerning Syria, it is being said that there are contacts. When I asked President Mubarak, he said that there are contacts but they are indirect ones. With regard to Iraq, it was expected that a visit would be made. But this visit has not taken place and it has been said that diplomatic relations will be restored, but they have not been restored. It was also said that President Saddam Husayn would visit Egypt, but he has not visited it. Concerning Algeria, we have heard that very high level Egyptian envoys are visiting Algeria and that there is a strong relationship between the two countries. All these things are not tangible facts. Has it become a shameful thing for us to reveal these relationships?

[Answer] What can I tell you? Not all things which are known can be said.

[Question] What is Egypt waiting for?

[Answer] The nature of these matters is that they are undeclared. You have also told me that I have given diplomatic answers. It is imperative for me to give diplomatic answers, and answers which indicate that we are with our Arab brothers and that we keep in mind that some of them are committed to keeping these contacts undeclared. We do not want to publicize these contacts on a grand scale.

[Question] Is this state of affairs comfortable for Egyptian policy?

[Answer] We adapt ourselves to the existing conditions. However, the optimum state of affairs is for us to find that all Arab relationships have reverted to their previous state and that things have returned to normal. However, if we cannot achieve this state, what shall we do? We are a very patient people. We patiently wait until those concerned make decisions.

[Question] The Arab countries now do not take Egypt into account while making their decisions. Egypt also does not take the Arab countries into account. In other words, each side does not take the other into consideration. The Arabs have begun growing accustomed to engaging in regional politics without the Egyptian presence. This constitutes a great danger, because it will create a kind of habit in using these methods.

[Answer] There are some countries--without mentioning names--which have tried to do this. But they were compelled to come to Egypt. There are actual examples, and they are at the tip of my tongue. However, I do not desire to cite them so that I will not embarrass anyone. If any Arab country does not take Egypt into account, this is a mistake. In times of need, this country will feel that it needs Egypt. This is not farsighted behavior. We and our Arab brothers share the same concerns.

We and the Arabs constitute strength. They are a source of strength for Egypt, and Egypt is a source of strength for them. However, if some quarters imagine that they can drop Egypt from their calculations, they are free. It has been proved to us, and it has been proved in very recent history, that when some quarters dropped Egypt from their calculations and found themselves wanting, they came to Egypt--and Egypt stood alongside them and backed them. Had not Egypt stood on their side, the situation would have been different. Clever people understand readily.

Al-Qadhdhafi's Offer

[Question] This is a question; please answer it and do not postpone answering it. It is about the offer which was made by Colonel al-Qadhdhafi and which was published in AL-MAJALLAH magazine. Simply stated, the offer is that al-Qadhdhafi is ready to meet with President Mubarak, to reach an understanding with Egypt and to present any kind of aid in return for being secretly informed--even 5 or 10 years later--that Egyptian policy will be steered in a way that it will sidestep Camp David.

[Answer] You are reporting a speech to me. It is improper that matters on such a serious level be tackled in this manner.

[Question] How can they be tackled, then?

[Answer] They are tackled by deed, not words. It is absolutely improper for me to say things, because what I say can then be taken at its face value, or be taken for granted. There are conditions on which to judge a person's words by his actions. I mean that the actions of a person, or of a country, are the things by which what he means is exactly judged. All we have to do is to observe the deeds of this person or that nation for a period of time for us to see whether these words tally with actions. Egypt is a country with a system and tradition, and it has a democracy which is not available to many Arab countries. Egypt has a regime which governs. There are a parliament, public opinion and an opposition. Therefore, everyone who addresses his words to Egypt must be aware that Egypt is formed of all these things.

[Question] If we take these words from the theoretical level to the practical level, what is required of al-Qadhdhafi or of Libya? Are there specific Egyptian demands?

[Answer] We do not know what he can do. There is absolutely no animosity between the Egyptian people and the Libyan people. The Libyan people are a cherished Arab people. They are Egypt's neighbors and it is impossible for any enmity to exist between them and Egypt. I am completely certain that the Libyan people reciprocate the Egyptian people's love and amity and that the Egyptian people reciprocate the same feelings of the Libyan people. However, as the popular saying goes, "I hear your words and they please me, and I see your actions and wonder."

[Question] Colonel al-Qadhdhafi had demanded the reopening of the border between the two countries.

[Answer] This issue can be discussed. But it is not up to me to open the border or close it. What about the things we hear in Libyan broadcasts, and what about some Libyan stances which we see at international conferences?

We want to go to an international conference and see the Libyan delegation taking a constructive, not a destructive, approach. All Egyptians can read, watch and hear. If the Libyan stance is fair or objective, then we will accept these words, and it is impossible for us to incriminate the Libyan stance or the Libyan people. But the dreadful campaigns which I hear in Libyan broadcasts are inconsistent with the things which you are telling me. What if we open the file of Libyan attempts made within Egypt and elsewhere? The last of these attempts was the episode of al-Bakkush. What if we open Libya's file? If I were to understand the truth, or if I were convinced [otherwise], then I would say that we are accusing Libya and that the Libyan leadership is innocent of all these things. This is the real picture.

12839

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18 April 1985

EGYPT

NATIONAL ENERGY POLICY DISCUSSED, RATIONALIZATION RECOMMENDED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 16 Feb 85 p 35

[Article by Muhammad 'Abd-al-Tawwab: "For Fear That Egypt Will Become an Oil Importer: a National Energy Rationalization Program"]

[Text] In a joint study carried out by the Egyptian Scientific Research Academy, the electricity and energy ministries and the specialized national councils, Egyptian energy experts warn that unless Egypt immediately begins implementing a national energy rationalization program, Egypt will turn from an oil-exporting country into an oil-importing one within 10 years. This means that unless the present average of compound energy consumption drops from 16.5 percent to 12 percent within the next 3 years, and subsequently to 10 percent, and unless the first power generating nuclear reactor is operating on schedule by around 1991, then Egypt will face an energy crisis which will compel it to consume most of the oil it produces.

The study emphasizes that average annual increase in the consumption of oil derivatives over the past 5 years reached 12.5 percent. If the consumption average remains unchanged, it will become imperative to procure 280 million tons of oil at the onset of 1990 to face the demand for energy. Since Egypt's confirmed oil reserves amount to approximately 360 million tons, only 80 million tons of these reserves will be left. Therefore, Egypt will face a basic energy deficit unless new oil fields are discovered.

The study affirms that if we take into consideration that the average annual increase in the consumption of electric power in the past 10 years amounted to 13.2 percent, while there are no longer any new hydraulic power generating sources, the average increase in the demand for the oil and the natural gas needed for power generation by the substitute thermal plants will reach 27 percent a year.

The study emphasizes that Egypt's industrial sector takes up about 50 percent of Egypt's total compound energy consumption, while household consumption and lighting represent nearly 30 percent, in addition to 10 percent consumed by utilities, establishments, government authorities and public lighting.

Although four new oil fields have been discovered in Egypt, including a natural gas field in the western desert, and despite the export of unconfirmed

reserves of about 4 billion oil barrels, officials in charge of the oil sector, in conjunction with their colleagues in the electricity ministry, demand as a matter of necessity the implementation of a program of national energy rationalization and of prospecting for alternative sources of nontraditional energy.

In 1984 alone, Egypt signed 14 oil-prospecting agreements with international companies under which the companies committed themselves to spending 312 million pounds on oil-prospecting operations. These operations include--in accordance with an additional stipulation in Egyptian agreements--prospecting for underground water deposits, natural gas and minerals, in addition to oil. The joint study conducted by Egyptian energy experts also demands focusing on the following measures as part of the Egyptian national energy rationalization program:

- Installing instruments to gauge the electric power consumption of every instrument on production lines in Egyptian factories, and in every factory, and making the energy consumption average a criterion for appraising the performance of the production units.

- Reducing lighting in the streets by turning the lights off and cutting television transmission hours by 1 hour a day.

- Using the solar energy in the suburbs and the remote areas, in areas with concentrations of workers and in hospitals for heating purposes.

- Increasing the prices of electricity consumption as far as the higher consumption groups are concerned, when it turns out that 2 percent of the consumers consume 17 percent of the electricity while 3 percent of the consumers consume 12 percent of the electricity. Furthermore, the study demands banning the use of electricity in ornamentation.

12839

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SUDAN

CREED OF REPUBLICAN BROTHERS DESCRIBED AS 'WESTERNIZED ISLAM'

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Mar 85 p 47

[Article by Abdelwahab el Affendi]

[Text]

I now feel a certain regret that I have never made an attempt to meet personally the late Mahmoud Mohammed Taha, founder of the Republican Brothers organisation in Sudan. Whatever we may think of the man and his ideas, he certainly had a peculiar charm about him which it would have been a rare privilege to experience first hand.

There is no escaping the man's ideas and his movement however. The Republicans' daily 11am to 1pm debating session was a regular feature of the University of Khartoum for as long as I knew it. I confess that I enjoyed the occasional stops I made there. The level of discussion was stimulating and gratifying in its depth and range, though logic as we know it was mercilessly slaughtered there with typical Hegelian high-handedness.

For those of us who have only heard about the Greek Sophists — those ancient "lawyers" who gave the term "sophistry" its meaning — they have, in the Republicans, come alive in all their splendour and amusement.

One day, as I was roaming the campus, I came across the "circle," as the Republicans used to call their debating session. The speaker (who was always the same person) was about to start the debate in his accustomed manner. He asked his audience (the majority at the start are supporters, others join later): "Do you know how you were created?" And in the face of bewildered silence, he proceeded to chide them for their ignorance, deploring their neglect of a cardinal

religious duty. I moved on, and when I returned found the man meticulously explaining to his spellbound audience, with the help of the Quran, Darwin and modern physics and biology how, from a primeval hydrogen molecule, they have come to be the human beings who were then listening to him. You could almost be fooled into thinking that he was there when it all happened.

This was too much for me. I took the first opportunity to intervene. "Don't be ridiculous," I told the chap (in the university you don't mince your words). "It is not a religious duty of the Muslim to know how God created him, only that He did. And besides, you are committing a big mistake by citing the Quran in support of a scientific theory which could change tomorrow. Especially Darwin's, which is so sweeping in its generalisations, on meagre data, that it belongs to the outer fringes of science. At best, it could be considered, as Popper says, a scientific research programme. So don't waste our time with such nonsense."

The ensuing duel was of little interest, except for the fact that it typifies the sophistry of the Republicans. The aim is not to refute arguments but to score points with the mob by making your opponents look ridiculous.

There was no limit as to how far they could go in their sophistry. One day, a bewildered six-year-old child who was visiting asked me what to make of the suggestion of our next-door neighbour that a glass of water was not empty

because God was inside it. I said to him: "Go tell the creep that this glass of water is full of air. And tell him to stop confusing children with this rubbish."

On another occasion, a Republican disputed with me the fact of the Creation because, he said, creation out of nothing is self-contradictory: "What is nothingness? Is it not something?" he inquired. The trap is that in Arabic, saying "out of nothing" is the same as "out of nothingness." I said to him: "Don't give me that nonsense. What I mean is that God created the world out of no previous existence whatsoever. And you should note that there is no point in building an argument on this. It is sheer sophistry to try to play linguistic tricks when you know that this is all you are doing. You have already said what you want to convince me I cannot say."

If it was just the sophistry, it would have been pretty harmless. But there was a more tragic side to the Republican cause. I lost two of my best friends through their contact with it. Both were brilliant, all-round personalities.

The first came to consult me about joining the Republicans. He was lured by the promise of becoming the "full-developed man" who will ultimately be at one with God — in fact, will acquire Godhead. I told the man: "Look, there are one-way streets and this is one of them. Someone may tell you that if you commit suicide you will experience all sorts of things. But if you do, and discover your mistake, then there is no coming back. So don't go for the promise of what you *will* find, go for what there *is*. I don't see much in this myself. You should think very carefully before taking any step."

He went, and joined the Republicans. Ironically he later told me it was his discussion with me which convinced him that this was the right course. When I met him some time later, all the interesting aspects of his personality had been extinguished. I chided him for wasting too much time attending the "circle." "Why

do you have to go there every day and listen to the same rubbish over and over again?" His answer: "I want to acquire proficiency in debating tactics." I was amazed. "You tell me that you go to all this trouble just to become another sophist?"

He became quite good at it though. I don't know whether he would have managed to convince me that Islam and polytheism are mere stages in man's trek towards fulfilling his essence in becoming God; I guess I got bored too soon.

The fate of the other man was even more tragic. He entered the one-way street from the wrong direction. His enthusiasm for refuting the Republicans turned into an obsession — his deep interest in them led him to acquire their logic. Just as Mahmond cited his name and the word Khartoum in the Quran (the words occur, but with totally different meaning) to prove the truth of his claim, my friend has ended by proclaiming himself the Mahdi, citing the Quran. He lost his bright career as a university teacher and narrowly missed being killed when police shot him in the leg at a student demonstration last year.

But it is surely neither sophistry nor a death wish which attracts a number of the brightest Sudanese to the fantasy world of the Republicans. So what is it? It can be summed up in two words: westernised Islam.

For in essence, the message is one of an Islam stripped of all that is specific to it, and clothed in the dominant western morality and standpoint. The object of all the sophistry and curious logic is to legitimise this choice and give it an ideological depth.

The liberating effect of such an ideology is hard to exaggerate.

It is western liberal thought, complete with its socialism. Come to think of it, I am amazed at the limited number of responses this call has received after forty years of intensive campaigning among the intelligentsia. The temptation just seems too great.

18 April 1985

SUDAN

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS OF REPUBLICAN BROTHER LEADER EXAMINED

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Mar 85 pp 76, 77

[Text]

The hanging in Khartoum of Mahmoud Muhammad Taha, leader of the Sudanese Republican Brothers, was the subject of sensational reports in the western press.

The 76-year-old "pacifist," as *The Times* of London called him, was executed on January 18. The newspaper stressed Taha's "ardent campaign" for the full equality of women and his view that non-Muslim Sudanese should have a right to live according to their traditions.

The Sudanese government, on the other hand, accused Taha of leading an ardent campaign to undermine the very foundation of the Muslim community. Taha's fatal mistake, however might have been his fervent support for Numeiri's rule, support which endured even after Taha was jailed for opposing Shariah. His attacks on Shariah were direct and frank: Shariah was "dehumanising" and "has given people nothing but the whip and the sword," Taha said.

Other Sudanese politicians, like Sadiq al Mahdi, or even the Sudanese Communist Party, refrained from attacking Shariah but accused Numeiri of "using Islam" to bolster his political fortunes. Taha, however, believed that it was not Numeiri but Shariah itself which has to be superseded.

After the May 1969 coup which brought Numeiri to power, the Republicans hailed him as a saviour. They were the only political organisation that was allowed to operate openly, changing their name from the Republican Party to the Republican brothers, so as to comply with the government ban on political parties. They supported the bloody suppression of the Ansar uprising in 1970.

For them the basis of the alliance with the new regime was its role in suppressing the political forces of traditional Islam, which they saw as the main obstacle to the flourishing of their new version of Islam. Their "pacifism" was therefore one with teeth: pacifism which presupposed that someone else would do their dirty work. They seem never to have contemplated that the use of the state to suppress opponents could be a double-edged weapon.

In the event, it was not Numeiri who initiated the process to execute Taha. Ironically, it was the president's decision to release Taha and his followers from 18 months detention and return to them their printing presses that resulted in their prosecution.

A tract they published attacked Shariah and led some citizens to take them to one of the powerful Shariah courts. The court presented Numeiri with a *fait accompli*. The president, in his explanatory statement issued with his ratification of the court ruling, said that he has spent 27 hours studying the case, and made intensive consultations, but in the event "found no way out for Mahmoud."

The politics of the Republican Brothers may seem hard to comprehend: they espouse Marxist socialism, support Numeiri's dictatorship, they loved Sadat and supported Camp David, they are staunchly pro-western, support human liberties (at least verbally) and oppose Shariah. But their views are only explicable with reference to their ideology, a powerful blend of Marxism, Darwinism, and the pantheism of Ibn Arabi.

In 1967 Mahmoud Taha published his magnum opus, entitled *The Second Message of Islam*. He and his disciples have since come to regard that book as their political and ideological manifesto. Five editions were printed and distributed at a nominal price. Khartoum's high streets, bookshops and buses were soon awash with the *Second Message*.

In that book, and many others that followed, Taha argued with vigour that Islam is not a one-message religion, as Muslims unanimously — but mistakenly — believed through history. Islam, in his view, is a double-message religion.

One of the two messages contained the fundamental verses of the Quran, whereas the other contained only the secondary ones (branches). The Prophet, for one reason or another, had conveyed the two but because of backwardness of human development at the time the first message (or fundamental verses) was abrogated. Muslims of the seventh century (the time of revelation) were to be addressed only with the second message (or the secondary verses).

In these alleged secondary verses of the Quran, freedom was restricted to its narrowest scope because earlier believers were below the level of rational responsibility. Had it not been for that, the verses would not have been overloaded with the most harsh punishments, the obligatory forms of "ibadat" and the perpetual sense of coercion.

Consequently, what Muslims regard as obligatory and an indispensable pillar of Islam, Mahmoud Taha would dismiss as a temporal and circumstantial device. For him, jihad, hijab, zakat, salat were all but transitional means that a rational, mature and perfect individual does not need.

From here, Taha branches into all sorts of social, political and even scientific theory. Instead of zakat, a socialism in which everybody gives up all but what is sufficient for his basic needs is substituted. A theory of creation in which man evolved from hydrogen, the primeval element, is used to justify all religions à la Ibn Arabi, as stages in the progress of "earthly" towards "heavenly" religions.

Along these lines he went on to build this theory, stating that the Prophet was the only Muslim among his pseudo-Muslim Companions and that he (the

Prophet) was conducting the community's affairs according to the secondary Shariah, but as for himself he was following his own Sunna. That was so because the Prophet was the perfect man.

Thanks to the huge developments that have taken place in every aspect of life, Taha's theory continues, we can now raise ourselves to the Prophet's and abandon the Shariah of the seventh century (being based on secondary verses of Quran). Contemporary issues of the twentieth century, Taha argues, can be met properly only after abrogating the ancient Shariah and return to the Sunna of the Prophet. He uses the term "Sunna" in an absolutely different sense.

The argument, however, does not end here. Who, for instance, will be authorised, after the sealing (or end) of the prophethood to abrogate some verses of Quran and bring others freely into effect? Anticipating such a question, Mahmoud had his answer. The messenger (who conveys the second message) will be a man, he says, whom God has endowed with understanding and authorised him to preach. But again how can we know him? "By his deeds," Mahmoud answers.

Mahmoud Taha's deeds, in fact, suggest that he is enormously higher in rank than the Prophet, bearing in mind that the Prophet was not in a position to abrogate the Quran, nor was he allowed, even in his alleged private Sunna, to give up performing prayers as Mahmoud allows himself.

The theory, though simple and naive, lacks consistency and is open to refutation despite the continuous amendments it has undergone. Originally, it was based on the trend of ancient Muslim Sufists led by the Andalusian Sufi-poet Ibn al-Arabi (1165-1240 CE) who advocated the philosophical view known as "The Unity of Being."

In that view, the essence of reality is one and hence created beings are on the same footing with their creator. When one reads the Quran he is reading nothing but his own words. The distinction between creator and creatures is only a "logical", not an existential, one. The prophets and their "Shariahs", according to this view, are only means whereby we can elevate ourselves to the state of the perfect man that embodies and reflects the light of God. Such notions were well known and

common among all Sufi sects though they preferred to clothe them in symbolic and poetic styles.

It is also known that Sufists, drawing from both Sunni and Shiite sources, constructed a theoretical frame that neither the Sunni nor the Shiite schools could fully accept. A Sufi, it was alleged, who purified himself through devotion, mediation and renunciation might find himself submerged into the world of everlasting light of truth; and initiated there as a "Wali" (saint) he would be equated with prophets, drawing from whence they themselves draw! Except for Mahmoud Taha, no Sufi has ever alleged that his visions and dreams should be seen as a Shariah or that he has been authorised to abrogate the "ancient" Shariah of the seventh century.

It was such flagrant deviation from the text and spirit of Islam that made the court before which Mahmoud was brought find a clear-cut case of apostasy. "This man," said the judge, "has committed ridda" (by his words, deeds and beliefs).

None of Mahmoud's sympathisers tried to refute what the judge said but they have their argument. If Mahmoud Taha was, they say, a Murtadd (apostate) for 16 years as the judge had mentioned; if he, for political considerations, had gone unpunished; and if he, again for political support, had been encouraged to pursue his campaign against religion, why should he be put to death only now? Why shouldn't he be regarded as a political opponent and receive the same treatment of detention or even a pardon?

Such questions would always remain to be asked partly because the margin between execution and excuse in President Numeiri's style is surprisingly narrow. But, apart from that, these questions are asked because in the

modern context, people find it difficult to comprehend any rationale behind meeting out the death penalty to a Murtadd. Religion, for them, is but a personal affair; to punish one who "turns back from his faith" is against freedom of conscience and contrary to the International Declaration of Human Rights.

Islam, however, does not overrule the freedom of conscience: the Quran states clearly: "There is no compulsion in religion. The right direction is henceforth distinct from error" (Sura II, 256). You cannot bring a person back to faith against his will.

The argument propounded by the supporters of the court ruling however, is that one who turns back from Islam and separates himself from the community, intending to undermine its foundation, is not merely enjoying his private freedom of conscience. Mahmoud Taha was not merely an intelligent person who, reflecting on the Quran, has come to different opinions or interpretations. If that was so nobody would be justified in touching him. In the history of Islam there were many intelligent philosophers, worried poets as well as perplexed Sufis who all enjoyed a long life of free thinking without fearing that their blood might be shed. Unlike them, Mahmoud was a leader of a political party, with thousands of followers who would respond effectively to the war-cry that their "Lord" and man-God had uttered against the Shariah law and ideology.

There seems to be a near-consensus of opinion among modern Islamists that the apostasy punished by Islamic law is not the free choice of religion. The controversy, then, centres around the issue of whether the activities of Mahmoud and his followers were just that, or amounted to war on the Muslim community.

LEBANON

AMAL'S HAYDAR DISCUSSES STRUGGLE IN SOUTH

Paris L'UNITE in French 1 Mar 85 pp 14-15

[Interview with 'Akif Haydar, leader of the Amal Shi'ite Movement, by Carlos Ferrari-Lopez; date and place not specified]

[Text] The statements made this week in Paris by Yitzhaq Shamir, Israeli minister of foreign affairs, well illustrate what we wrote last week about the fragile balance supporting the present Israeli government. At the very moment when Shamir was expressing a totally negative judgment on the recent Jordanian-Palestinian agreement--whose officially published contents are in conformity with the text which we published --Prime Minister Shimon Peres expressed positive appreciation for the initiative of Egyptian President Mubarak, which is specifically based on this agreement. This agreement recommends the holding of a meeting between Jordan, Palestine, and Israel.

Certainly, the Israeli leaders may see in this proposal an alternative to the international conference to which the agreement between King Husayn and Yasir 'Arafat referred and to which the Israeli leaders are unanimously opposed. The meeting between Jordan, Palestine, and Israel involves direct negotiations which could be held under the auspices of the United States, as was the case with the negotiations which led to the Camp David agreement. Shimon Peres seems to have welcomed this idea more favorably since he had been informed of the Egyptian initiative by a representative whom President Mubarak sent to him at the time of his recent visit to Bucharest. In this way he received an answer from Cairo which he told us he had been waiting for since the Israeli decision to evacuate southern Lebanon. The Egyptian president, who will stop over in Paris on 1 March, will spend several days in the United States, where he will be able to gauge more specifically America's willingness to re-engage itself in Near Eastern affairs. He will also find out whether this re-engagement has been encouraged or not by Soviet-American conversations which took place last week in Vienna, concerning which no information has been made public.

Regarding the situation in southern Lebanon, after the period of euphoria which followed the evacuation of Saida [Sidon], it has been marked by predictable clashes between the Shi'ites and the Israeli Army. The Israeli Army has intervened, at times in brutal fashion, in villages where the people were suspected of favoring attacks on it.

In the course of a visit to Paris Col 'Akif Haydar, the second ranking figure in the Amal Shi'ite movement, one of the key forces in the complex Lebanese mosaic, agreed to answer questions from L'UNITE.

[Question] On the one hand Israel is beginning to evacuate southern Lebanon. On the other hand, large scale operations have been launched against Shi'ite villages. Do you think that there now is some movement toward the end of this long war?

[Answer] I raised this question in discussions with leaders of the French Socialist Party, whom I met during my visit to Paris, and I gave them the views of our movement. Briefly, this is the situation. Israel promised to carry out a total evacuation of Lebanese territory. However, the dates for their withdrawal movement have not been resolved, as well as the role and the future of the "Army of Southern Lebanon," that is, the so-called Lahad army. In view of this situation, we are going to continue our military operations. In reality, we think that up to now there has been no evacuation, but rather a redeployment of the Israeli forces. If you look at a map of southern Lebanon, you can see that the Israeli Army has tried to evacuate heavily-populated areas, which had become a kind of hell for their men. Take Saida, for example, where they withdrew, while keeping control of 80 percent of the territory. They think that, as the population under their control diminishes, the resistance will be less. This has not been the case at all. The Amal movement has the objective of promoting the unity of the country and the unity of its territory. We are therefore concerned if a single square centimeter of Lebanon remains under Israeli occupation!

[Question] And if the withdrawal should be halted?

[Answer] We have already given orders to intensify military operations in the areas which remain under occupation.

[Question] Do you have the means of increasing your military pressure?

[Answer] Yes, we do. We do not pretend that we have military means equivalent to those used by the enemy. Everyone knows that they have a very strong army, with sophisticated weapons, and that they have help from the United States. Our resistance uses other means. We don't need heavy artillery or an air force. Our resistance, or any resistance, needs one thing in particular, and that is to believe, to believe sincerely in the cause for which we fight. That is enough to win battles. We have inflicted many losses on Israel.

[Question] You say you are fighting for the unity of Lebanon. How will you be able to reach agreement with all of the various communities in this country which have been fighting each other for many years?

[Answer] That won't be easy! There are always divisions and contradictory interests. It's the same thing in all countries. With the help of the Lebanese armed forces, Israel wanted to take Lebanon out of the Arab orbit and bring it into line with Israel and the United States. That was absolutely contrary to the natural place of Lebanon. In fact, Lebanon is an Arab country which fought a war to confirm its Arab identity. This Arab identity is now accepted by all Lebanese. We have therefore returned to the right road, an Arab road. The government, and President Amin Gemayel as its head, have accepted this position. Hence the abrogation of the May 1983 agreement with Israel.

On the other hand, the liberation of our people will give us the basis for our unity. For example, after the liberation of the city of Saida on 16 February President Gemayel came to salute the national resistance. Even the commander in chief of the Lebanese forces saluted the resistance. This recognition of the resistance at the national level is now a point of departure for achieving the unity of the Lebanese people.

[Question] There remains the question of a Lebanese army.

[Answer] There is a real interest on the part of all factions to rebuild the Lebanese army. If this army was divided in the past, this was because it had lost all of its identity. Now our Arab identity has been confirmed.

[Question] You affirm your Arab identity and you refuse any submission to Israel. However, where is Syria in all of that? Do you think that there is a place for an autonomous and independent Lebanon alongside your Syrian neighbor?

[Answer] With Syria, it's another matter. We are on the same line, in an Arab orbit. Normally, we should be on good terms with Syria. Yes, there is a place for an autonomous state alongside Syria. Why not?

[Question] On several occasions Syria has demonstrated its power to Lebanon.

[Answer] If you mean that Syria has interests in Lebanon, then I would say that it has. And that is only normal! What we cannot accept is cupidity, the ambitions of one country toward another.

[Question] It is often felt that it is Syria which dominates the political and military game in Lebanon. Do you agree with this view?

[Answer] Dominating, dominating. Let us say that Syria has always had substantial influence over Arab politics in general, and not only in Lebanon. The impact of Syria in terms of regional strategy cannot be neglected. We are a country bordering on Syria. It is therefore only normal that our relations should be very close. That doesn't mean that Syria is going to force its will on us. Syria has a socialist system of government which is different from the liberal system which exists in Lebanon. Syria wants to avoid having Lebanon

become a base for anti-Syrian terrorists. Regarding the Arab problem in general, Syria wants to have Lebanon standing by its side. That is a legitimate desire.

[Question] However, more specifically, the Arab world appears to be very much divided at present.

[Answer] Yes, there is a bloc in which you find Syria and, on the other hand, there is an effort to establish a bloc made up of Jordan and Egypt, with the support of Yasir 'Arafat. However, this should not be exaggerated. It is not because Lebanese politicians and party leaders go to Damascus that Syria will be in control of Lebanese life. We must ask for Syrian help. Today Lebanon is in a weak position. Its components are widely dispersed, and we need to regain our unity. Syria can help us to do this.

[Question] What is the position of the Amal movement regarding the Palestinian question? Syria seems to want to have nothing to do with 'Arafat. Negotiations are going on between Jordanians and Palestinians. However, even in Lebanon the Palestinians have suffered substantial losses.

[Answer] Neither Lebanon nor the Amal movement now has enough strength to take a position concerning the problems dividing the Palestinians. We have always favored the unity of the Palestinian resistance and we will defend the Palestinian cause to the very end! Their presence on Lebanese territory is something else. There is no longer any place for armed Palestinians in Lebanon. The liberation of Lebanon is a Lebanese problem. We thank everyone for their help, but we are able to do it by ourselves! We welcome a civilian Palestinian presence, as long as their problem has not been resolved. We offer them the possibility of carrying on political and diplomatic activity. However, in the refugee camps our Palestinian brothers must not carry arms.

[Question] There are French troops in southern Lebanon which are part of UNIFIL [United Nations Forces in Lebanon]. There are also French military observers in Beirut. The latter have been subject to attack. People speak of the Islamic Jihad, an organization which reportedly claimed credit for the killing of French soldiers. What is the position of the Amal movement regarding this situation?

[Answer] These French military personnel are carrying out a peaceful mission in Lebanon. We have condemned these attacks. It is really disappointing that this kind of activity could take place. We are not in a position where we can control everything. Moreover, security in Beirut is a matter for the Lebanese army. In the name of the Amal movement I presented all of our condolences to the French government and people.

[Question] Regarding the Islamic Jihad, do you have more precise information?

[Answer] No, but I can tell you that there are people who attack France because of its position in the conflict between Iran and Iraq. This is not the case with the Amal movement.

[Question] And with regard to UNIFIL?

[Answer] That is not the same problem. UNIFIL has not been able to stop Israeli soldiers from attacking Lebanese villages. Now, Amal militants are going to continue their fight against the occupiers, and UNIFIL troops won't be able to stop them. However, this question should be raised in a different way. We want the French to do what is necessary to have Israeli troops leave Lebanon as soon as possible. It is necessary to stop the massacres. It is necessary to avoid losses on both sides.

[Question] Do you think that international forces should remain in southern Lebanon and that their mission should be broadened?

[Answer] Yes! Their numbers should be increased, and they should also be given more authority. If they are deployed on the border, they can constitute a guarantee for everyone. However, these troops should play a new role. It is not a question of preventing the Amal movement from liberating Lebanese territory, while allowing the occupiers a free hand. UNIFIL on the border and the Lebanese army in the territory of southern Lebanon can maintain peace.

[Question] The influence of the Khomeyni revolution on the Amal movement is a matter of concern to the Western countries.

[Answer] Certainly there is an influence! In the present world the mass media, the press, etc, allow any kind of event to have an influence or impact on nearby or far-off movements. However, I think that Western public opinion is confusing things to some extent. When they talk about Khomeyni, people think that an Islamic state is going to be established in all of the Arab countries. We have relationships with Khomeyni. They are spiritual and religious relationships. To us he is not what the pope is for Catholics. In religious terms he is the last resort. However, in political terms we have our own views. The Amal movement defined the basic lines of its activity by saying that, "Before anything else, we are Lebanese!" In Lebanon we are a minority community among other minority communities. In this framework the religious problem is for each community to resolve in a broader context, namely, Lebanon.

[Question] Do you think that you can control these Islamic fanatics who are now active, for example, in the city of Saida?

[Answer] First of all, it is not for us to control anything at all. There is a government, and it is its duty and that of its legitimate army to do this. The Amal movement should not be a police force, replacing others. Our purpose is simply to liberate our country. Then there are tasks which are up to the government which holds power.

[Question] Does the Amal movement advocate an Islamic revolution?

[Answer] We have never thought of that. It is not one of our objectives. I repeat, we want a Lebanon which is unified for all Lebanese and where all communities mutually respect each other. We also want equality among Lebanese citizens and democracy.

[Question] The Lebanese situation is also developing in terms of the involvement or disinvolvement of the super powers. With regard to the USSR and the United States, what is the position of the Amal movement?

[Answer] You know that there is a strategic agreement between the United States and Israel. Moreover, almost all of the Arab countries are satellites of the United States. Syria, for its part, has been able to maintain a certain balance by relying on its agreements with the Soviet Union. The influence of the United States is enormous in the whole region. Clearly, there are presently two camps: one is pro-Soviet and the other, a very powerful one, is pro-American. The Amal movement does not belong to either of these two camps!

[Question] But your alliance with Syria.

[Answer] Yes, we are allies of Syria on the strictly local level. However, we condemn what the Soviet Union is doing in Afghanistan. We have a certain independence or, rather, we have a certain political independence.

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CSO: 4419/7

SAUDI ARABIA

COMMUNIST PARTY LEADER ON SOCIAL, ECONOMIC ISSUES

Paris REVOLUTION in French 22 Feb 85 p 25

[Interview with PC leader Hamad al-Mubarak during the French CP's annual congress, conducted by Elizabeth Longuenesse; date not specified]

[Text] Saudi Arabia is a country people don't talk about very much, and yet it plays a key role in the Arabian-Persian Gulf region and, more generally, in the Middle East. During the French PC's annual congress, the leader of Saudi Arabia's Communist Party, Hamad al-Mubarak, consented to answer REVOLUTION's questions.

[Question: Where does the working class stand today in Saudi Arabia? What changes has it undergone since the great struggles against ARAMCO in the Fifties?

[Answer] The oil-field workers are the vanguard of the working class in Saudi Arabia. The presence of this working class dates back to the Forties and Fifties, when Aramco first started getting the oil out. That led to the hard-fought struggles against the company and against the government that supported it, and brought with it some very important achievements, in increased wages, in shorter shifts, and in improved living conditions. It was also at the fore in the anti-imperialist struggles, especially in ousting the American military base at Dahran, which came to pass in 1960.

To this very day, the oil-workers constitute the hard core of the Saudi working class.

[Question] Haven't the oil-field workers become very much a minority, though, what with the increasing use of foreign workers who, incidentally, are being exploited, and in whose eyes the Saudi workers look like privileged characters?

[Answer] First of all, you must remember that the petroleum industry is very big in our country. For all practical purposes, it is interested exclusively in oil. Hence the industrial labor force

is composed primarily of oil-field workers, most of them Saudi nationals. The foreign workers, now numbering close to 3 million, are employed mainly in the services and in construction. Meanwhile, the decline in the fighting spirit of the workers since the Sixties can be explained by a whole chain of factors. First of all, one must bear in mind the fact that the Fifties were the years of a great upsurge in anti-imperialist struggles throughout the Arab world: Saudi Arabia was a part of that movement, along with the other countries in the region, and the struggles of the working class were part and parcel of it. However, in the years that came afterwards, the working class won major response to its demands in all areas, in the form of promulgation of a labor code, among other gains. In addition, nowadays it is the foreign workers who are most fiercely exploited. Saudi Arabia is a country whose situation is altogether unique: its economy is heavily dependent on its enormous oil revenues, which enable it to import just about anything it fancies. In such a climate, a consumer society has emerged, which has weakened the workers' readiness to fight: by comparison with a great many other countries, the Saudi worker seems to be very well off indeed. As for the immigrant work-force, its prime function originally was strike-breaking. It was a negative factor in the development of our struggles. Does that mean that the regime thereby succeeded in suppressing the class struggle? As a matter of fact, it did not. Particularly since one must allow for another peculiarity in our situation: such workers, largely concentrated in the East, are overwhelmingly adherents of the Shi'a faith. But Shi'ites are treated like second-class citizens. There is, consequently, a coming together between the working-class struggles and those on behalf of the rights of a minority. Let's not forget that the oil-field workers play a strategic role: when they go on strike, the entire national economy is paralyzed.

[Question] Precisely: in this connection, what do you make of the events of November 1979; the insurrection in Mecca, on the one hand, followed by the great uprising of the Shi'ite people in the Eastern region on the other?

[Answer] Those two events were not at all akin, even though the first helped to touch off the second. Behind the takeover of the Great Mosque at Mecca was a movement that is essentially reactionary, even though it embraced some nationalist demands: headed by students at the Islamic Law School, anti-American and opposed to education for women, dreaming of a return to the golden age when Muhammad was preaching, it mirrors the despair of the classes in our society that are declining -- the peasant farmers, the dispossessed bedouins, the small producers. On the contrary, the Eastern region's movement was far more politicalized and at the same time reached more deeply into the masses: all classes of the people took part in it, in 80 villages. Their two main slogans were: "Equal rights for all communities," and "Boycott imperialism!" The Communist Party played an active role in that.

[Question] What is the status of the opposition parties at present?

[Answer] A lot of parties have been around since the Fifties and Sixties -- the Baath, the Nasserites, the Arab Nationalists.... Almost all of them, with the sole exception of the Communist Party, failed to survive the terrible repression by the regime. Only a party with a cast-iron structure can stand against such repression. One other party stood fast until 1982: the Socialist Labor Party. Like the Communist Party, it was hard-hit by the government's mass arrests that year among progressive circles. It has yet to recover. We are hoping that it will weather this difficult phase, because we look to it as our principle ally.

[Question] How would you describe the social and economic situation today? Are people beginning to feel the impact of the decline in oil revenues? In what way is that decline making itself felt?

[Answer] The truth is that the State's revenues have plummeted in the last few years: in 1983-1984, they were running at \$110 billion: the forecasts for 1984-1985 say there will be only \$61 billion, which is \$50 billion less! Note, though, that there has been no change in the military budget; it still soaks up \$27 billion; no change, either, in aid to counter-revolutionary movements or reactionary parties worldwide (Afghanistan, Ethiopia, Greece, Cyprus, even France), nor yet in stipends paid to princes. On the other side of the sheet, the cuts can be seen in the social budget, in the major subsidized agricultural products (rice, sugar, electricity, etc.), where prices are climbing steeply, as are those of -- would you believe -- gasoline; cuts are also affecting student stipends, government employees are being laid off, and so on. To put it another way, the whole impact of the decline in oil prices has been strapped onto the backs of the working class. To top it off, a great many projects have been frozen, or simply cancelled. There is thus no assurance at all that there will be no reaction from those hardest hit, while there is every possibility of mass protest movements.

[Question] Your Party held its second congress last August. What goals did it set for you, and what view did you arrive at, given the conflicts besetting Saudi society today, about possible alliances at this stage?

[Answer] Our first marching orders read: fight to overthrow the absolutist royal regime, for respect for human rights, and for establishment of a democratic national independence regime. In this battle, the working class can find allies in broad reaches of the population, from the petty bourgeoisie to a segment of the national bourgeoisie by way of the peasants; elsewhere, the repression that periodically sweeps through the army shows that not only the enlisted men, but quite a few officers as well, are ready to fight for freedom and democracy.

SYRIA

GOVERNMENT OFFERS MUSLIM FUNDAMENTALISTS AMNESTY

Kuwait AL-MUJTAMA' in Arabic 5 Feb 85 pp 32-35

[Article: "Explosive Thrown by Syrian Ministry of Interior in Political Street; What About Syrian Regime's Call for Muslim Fundamentalists Who Have Left Syria To Return Amidst Struggle That Is Likely To Erupt Between Ruling Power Centers"]

[Text] The first week of this month brings the 3rd anniversary of the tragedy of the city of Hamah, most of whose quarters and homes were demolished on the heads of their inhabitants 3 years ago. With the passage of this sad anniversary, has anything changed in Syria's conditions?

Questions

The Syrian citizen has been asking for sometime questions regarding the real political trend inside Syria, questions such as: What about the real military and political partisan forces in Syria? What about the struggle that erupted between them last year? What about the position of the Damsacus regime toward the opposition generally and what about its position toward the Islamic opposition, embodied in the Muslim Brotherhood, in particular?

The question in the Syrian people's mind is perhaps centered on the developments that have motivated the Damsacus regime to make its statement, through the Ministry of Interior, urging al-Tali'ah [Vanguard] Organization and the Muslim Brothers outside the country to return home.

Before beginning to answer the questions on the mind of the fraternal Syrian people, we must pause to examine the Ministry of Interior's statement which has urged the fundamentalist Muslim opposition to return to Syria.

Examination of Syria

Amidst the secrecy which engulfed the activities of the Syrian Ba'th Party's regional congress and while the citizens in Syria were trying to fathom some partisan and government secrets through what they were reading between the lines of the Syrian press and through what they could get by way of their personal and family relations with some members of the army or employees of some ministries--amidst all this, the regime threw its bomb in the Syrian street. The surprise was a "reconciliation with the fighting al-Tali'ah of

the Muslim Brotherhood," according to what the regime wanted to tell the people. The government's statement contained several points which we will sum up in the following:

1. The holding of negotiations between those whom the statement described as al-Tali'ah leadership and official elements of the Ministry of Interior.
2. Al-tali'ah abandonment of what the statement calls devious thinking.
3. The development of new convictions in al-Tali'ah leadership toward what is taking place in the Syrian arena.
4. The presence of an external plot against Syria requiring the unity of the Syrians.
5. Al-Tali'ah leadership believes that the national duty calls upon it to support the government in repelling the plots and building the country.
6. The government gives al-Tali'ah members the right to return to the country.
7. The government urges every member of the Muslim Brotherhood living outside the country to return to Syria.

By examining the contents of the Syrian Ministry of Interior's statement, one notices the following:

1. The Syrian regime abandons in its statement the tone of threats characterizing all its previous statements concerning the issue of the Muslim Brotherhood and of the other Islamic forces in Syria.
2. The Syrian regime is content with inviting the Muslim fundamentalists to return to the homeland without inviting the other organizations, such as the Nasirists, the independent Ba'thists and the other political opposition factions that are outside Syria.
3. The statement focuses on the fighting al-Tali'ah Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood, displays goodwill toward it and depicts its leadership as being inclined toward reconciliation and cooperation with the regime for the good of the country.

Position of al-Tali'ah

Before we discuss the regime's objectives behind the said statement, we must first pause before what the fighting al-Tali'ah Organization had announced regarding negotiations with the regime.

Al-Tali'ah Consultative Council in Syria has issued on this matter a statement containing a number of points which shed light on the regime's tactics in this period. The statement has urged al-Tali'ah elements to foil this opportunity and not to get involved.

Whoever reads al-Tali'ah's statement realizes that the organization's accredited leadership has not negotiated with any official circle in the regime. How could such negotiation take place when al-Tali'ah's leadership is incarcerated in Damascus prisons? However, it is well known to the political factions in Syria that the security agencies are experienced in setting up some notables, dressing them in the garb these agencies want and then turning these notables into the representatives of this or that faction when they do not actually belong to any of these factions and they are actually government men. It is well known that since 1970, the security agencies have ceaselessly employed this tactic to fight the political organizations. If we looked at such organizations as the Nasirist Organization, the Communist Organization and others, we would find that the government has struck the original organizations and created substitute organizations raising the same slogans as the original organizations. Moreover, while fighting these political inclinations, the government was priming its own men and pushing them to the arena to declare themselves as the representatives of the various inclinations. Let us, for example, note what the government did to the Nasirists in 1974 when it assigned a number of the state security elements to declare themselves as the "leadership" of the Nasirists, unionists and socialists. The so-called Nasirist Vanguard did actually emerge and chaos developed in the Nasirist Organization, with some of the Nasirists following those fabricated leaderships (who were actually state security men) as representatives of the Nasirist tendency.

It seems that the Syrian security agencies have sought to play the same game again and they may have primed some of their followers and thrown them into the political arena to declare themselves as al-Tali'ah leadership at a time when the security agencies are detaining the real leadership of al-Tali'ah in the jails of Damascus.

What Does Regime Want?

After this, one may wonder: What does the regime seek from its statement inviting those outside Syria to return to the country?

It seems that this can be understood only by knowing what goes on in the struggle between the internal centers of power and in their competing with each other to gain the people's loyalty.

To start, any observer can notice that when the Damsacus regime threw its bomb in the Syrian street, it tried to reflect the new internal tendency of the Syrian policy through a new political equation that depicts the regime in the wake of the conclusion of its regional congress as:

1. Being open to popular circles when the regime has in fact tried throughout the past 15 years to close the dossier of these circles in the popular arena and has been content with shackling, pursuing, jailing and murdering these circles.
2. Being eager for national unity as one of the necessities for confronting the problems experienced by the Syrian arena at present.

Though the government's statement has coincided with the conclusion of the sessions of the eighth regional congress of the Ba'th Party and with formation of the regional Central Committee and leadership, numerous Arab circles are well-aware that the party's congress was facing difficult tasks, headed by three priorities:

1. Settling the struggle between the Syrian centers of power and re-forming these centers in a manner that prevents an explosion between them.
2. Appointing vice presidents to prevent the eruption of any disagreement in the absence of the president or when succession to the presidency is discussed.
3. The economic conditions.

The question that must be asked in this respect is: What is the relationship between the Ministry of Interior's statement and what is happening in the internal Syrian arena?

Most observers of Syria's conditions are unanimous that the party's eighth congress, convened recently, has not been able to solve the problems facing the regime, especially the internal problems, because as we have said in a previous article, "the party in Syria does not possess the power needed to solve these problems within partisan frameworks in a country ruled by conflicting centers of military forces."

It is well known that the conflict between the centers of power witnessed by the Syrian arena last year almost led to pulling the rug from under the feet of the government. Consequently, this government has been ceaselessly trying in the past few months to plant itself firmly at the top of power by outflanking the strong points of the centers of power opposing it.

The party, rather the partisan facade, was one of the points which the competing forces tried to outflank in an exposed step seeking to turn this partisan facade into the representative of these or those centers of power. However, what happened before and during convocation of the congress has proven that the centers of power have not been able to achieve what they had wagered on. All the figures forming the center of the struggle are still in their partisan positions, whether in the Central Committee or in the Regional Command. The prominent military officers forming the axis of the struggle, namely Rif'at al-Asad, Mustafa Talas, Hikmat al-Shihabi, 'Ali Haydar, 'Ali Duba, 'Ali Asian, 'Ali al-Salih, Shafiq Fayyad, 'Adnan Sulayman, Ibrahim al-'Ali and Ibrahim Safi, continue to maintain their positions in the party leadership. This shows that the eighth congress has not been able to settle the problem of the struggle. Moreover, these partisan positions reflect the importance of the military positions of each of these officers.

Axes of the Struggle

The tendencies and formations of the ongoing struggle between the centers of power in the Syrian arena become obvious to the observer of this struggle through:

1. The latest partisan formations.
2. The military centers and their subservience to the centers of power.
3. The external political positions.

With Rif'at al-Asad's return to the Syrian arena and his projecting himself in a certain beautified image, it becomes evident that there are two main centers of ruling power in Syria. This opinion is supported by some information leaked from a number of Arab capitals that are familiar with a part of Syrian internal political life. These axes are:

The first axis which is embodied in Rif'at al-Asad, his brother and their family members who are positioned in Damascus, al-Qardahah and a number of major military divisions.

The second axis which is embodied in a number of prominent officers of the ruling sect, such as Shafiq Fayyad, 'Ali Haydar, al-Khuli, Aslan and others who are opposed to Rif'at al-Asad.

There is reliable information indicating that each of these two axes is arranging its internal military positions in a manner that prepares it to gain sole control of power in the future.

This arrangement is the main obstacle that has obstructed settling and ending this struggle. However, there is information which defines the capabilities of the military forces of the struggle as follows:

1. The first axis controls four military divisions.
2. The second axis controls five military divisions.

Consequently, all the main parties to the struggle have decided to freeze it and wait for what the coming days produce.

From the course of the political tendencies existing in the Syrian arena, it is evident to us that these two axes are "outwardly" in conflict as to the path which must be followed in the economic policy. Whereas the facts confirm the tendency of the first axis to be flexible in the economic policy, to retreat gradually from the socialist line and to be open to more economic decisions compatible with the capitalist line, the second axis adopts the socialist line as an act of "oneupmanship." Informed circles close to the first axis in the Syrian capital have reported that Rif'at al-Asad issued a message distributed on a small scale in which he speaks of the drawbacks of the socialist tendency and says that neither the socialist system nor democracy are suitable for Syria, asserting that only the capitalist economic system suits her. These circles say that this open turn toward capitalism has aroused the resentment and anger of the Soviet Union, which has begun to display its inclination to support the second axis that is trying to win this Soviet support by calling for the application of socialism--a call which does not reflect an ideological affiliation and which is no more than a

currying of favors with Soviet policy in order to gain support for this axis' struggle with the first axis which, some circles assert, has the support of the United States and of some western capitals.

International Dimensions

The political tendencies of the first axis center on seeking to achieve greater Syrian influence in the area by opening up to the western world politically. Here is where we understand the secret of the harmony between Syria and the United States and of the recurrent visits by White House envoys to Syria and where we also understand the visits of European notables and leaders, such as Mitterand, Papandreou and Kreisky, to Damascus. Here, also, is where we understand the failure of the talks conducted by a prominent [Syrian] official with the Soviet leadership during this official's latest visit to the Soviet Union and understand why Russia has not supported the Syrian leadership in its conflict with 'Arafat.

Here, a question is raised regarding the real Russian position toward the Syrian regime or, to put it more precisely, toward the first axis. As we have said, the Russian leadership is not satisfied with the first axis' tendencies toward the western world. However, this leadership is still reserved in its support for the second axis because of certain international diplomatic strategies dictated by the principles of the dialogue which has been launched between Moscow and Washington over their Mideast policies. This fact sheds light on why the Soviets restrained the leaders of the second axis ('Ali Haydar and al-Fayyad) when they visited the Soviet Union. The Soviets restrained the leadership of this axis and prevented it from carrying out a scheme to topple all the forces supporting Rif'at al-Asad and his followers. When the Soviet Union put its pressure on the leaders of the second axis, it probably did so only as a result of special arrangements for the Middle East agreed upon with the United States. The Soviet Union did not perhaps want those arrangements to be torpedoed by an upheaval in the area's security situation, especially since the Soviet Union seeks to establish a joint policy in the area with the United States. The main key to this policy is the active international effort to include the Soviets in the peaceful solution game and in the international conference to establish peace between the Arab regimes and Israel.

Frozen Struggle That Is Likely To Erupt

It is evident from the above that there are two axes leading the struggle for power in Syria. We have explained the political and economic position of each axis and have reached the conclusion that the struggle is not settled yet but has only been frozen temporarily to await the outcome of the coming days which will abound with intricate Arab and international political contacts.

This is why we can say that the frozen struggle is still likely to explode at any moment and that the belief of the elements of the struggle about the existence of explosive factors will encourage each of the centers of power to rush in the direction of gaining greater military, partisan and sectarian

loyalty from all the Syrian centers, organizations and bases while waiting for the right moment [to pounce on the other centers]. If we were to examine carefully Rif'at al-Asad's theory on the nature of the system of government he visualizes--a theory about which the Syrian people know nothing other than what Rif'at said in pamphlets which he had issued months ago and distributed to the Syrian governorates--if we were to examine Rif'at's tendency, we would find that it relies on a number of mainstays, including:

First mainstay: It is embodied in a tribal rule, meaning here, of course, the rule of a single family of a certain sect, with the sect acting as a support for the family.

Second Mainstay: It is embodied in the family's control of all the centers of the military, partisan and security forces. This explains the return and reinstatement of Rif'at al-Asad and his being given control of the security agencies. It also explains the reports circulated about the emergence of the personality of Basil al-Asad next to Rif'at and his brother [President Hafiz al-Asad], in addition to installing many of the members of the al-Asad family and their relatives in sensitive positions in Syrian government institutions and in the army divisions.

Therefore, we can say that the centers of power are apprehensive about the reemergence of the Syrian opposition factions. Considering that all the centers of power share firm hostility toward the Islamic tendencies, their fear of the return of the opposition is also common. This is why these elements want to solve their political problems with the opposition by considering the Syrian opposition abroad an influential card which must be withdrawn and burnt before the accounts are settled between the competing military forces. On the other hand, the Damascus regime is aware of the PLO's desire for taking revenge on the regime because of its position toward this organization. This wish may motivate the PLO to seek cooperation with the Muslim fundamentalists against the regime. The Palestinian wish may also find support in some Arab capitals. Therefore, what is required, according to the regime's way of thinking, is to foil the Islamic opposition and to nullify its military and political influence.

This is why the regime has superimposed Islamic identity on a number of persons who have alleged to have negotiated with the regime in order to mislead those who are outside Syria and to push them toward the snare. Moreover, by claiming to have pardoned a number of Muslim fundamentalists, the regime can reflect a new image of itself, especially since it is on the doorstep of a new term. The improvement of this image is followed, according to what the regime believes, by breaking the circle of isolation under which the regime lives at the Arab and Islamic levels and even at the internal popular level, which is harder.

If the regime's long-range objective is to negate the Islamic fundamentalists' hostility toward it because of the influence the fundamentalists will have if the mainstays of regime are shaken, then can this regime achieve its objective?

This is what we do not expect to happen. It behooves this regime to end the incarceration of the detainees and to end the tragedy of thousands of families whose sons and supporters live in jails. All nations perhaps know by instinct that no regime can achieve stability or security if scores or hundreds of the people's sons are in its jails, not to mention the thousands that have been living in the darkness of the [Syrian regime's] cells for years.

The Syrian people aspire to achieve several fundamental things in their country, especially:

1. Abolition of all the martial laws which have been governing Syria for years.
2. Release of all the political detainees in Syria.
3. Restraining the State Security Intelligence and all the other intelligence agencies and removing them from the positions of directing the political action in the country's governorates.

We wonder if the Damascus regime will comprehend this fact and release all the political detainees in its jails? The regime can then think of its political future.

8494

CSO: 4404/247

AFGHANISTAN

RESISTANCE LEADER EVALUATES OPERATION, DEFENSE, UNITY

Paris LE MONDE in French 26 Feb 85 p 6

[Interview by Olivier Roy with Maj Abdul Haqq, top resistance leader in the Kabul region, at Antony (France), date not given).

[Text] Visiting in France for the ceremony of symbolic "twinning" of the towns of Paghman, near Kabul, and Antony, Maj Abdul Haqq, 27, leader of the Afghan resistance in the Kabul region, talked to us.

[Question] We have heard that your operations around Kabul are intensifying lately: is that true?

[Answer] In 3 years we have found ways to mount pinpoint attacks in increasing numbers and with greater accuracy inside the capital's defense perimeter. The fact is that for us Kabul is a priority target: for one thing, it is the seat of government, and hence our operations there have maximum psychological impact. In the face of our increasingly effective operations, the Soviets in 1984 switched strategies: instead of merely defending their own positions, they decided to destroy the city's periphery -- the ring of small villages surrounding the capital. Actually, that ring is our logistical base, and all our operations are launched from there. In response, they drove the population around Kabul to move, either to Pakistan or into Kabul city, where it would be easier to keep an eye on them. To achieve this, they resorted to wholesale, systematic destruction of crops and whole villages, as well as to massacres of civilians, so as to create a wave of terror. For example, the villages of Tizin, Shiwaki, Lanadar, and Dehsabz have vanished from the map.

[Question] In 1984, the Soviets sharply intensified their own operations. How, in the face of that escalation, do you explain the enhanced and heightened resistance in Kabul?

There are three reasons. First, our weapons are much better; we now have 107-mm rockets with a range greater than anything we had before. Then there is the civilian evacuation of the battlefield, which gives us a free hand. Before that happened, we would as a

rule limit our operations voluntarily so as to avoid reprisal actions; now, though, there is nobody left for the Soviets to use as targets for indiscriminate reprisals. And, lastly, coordination among the resistance groups and their internal organizations has improved markedly.

[Question] What kind of forces are involved in the operations you mount?

[Answer] That depends on the target, the strategy, and the balance of forces. An operation may be anything from an attack by a single individual to a massive operation involving a thousand fighters. Generally, our mobile squads consist of several tens of men.

[Question] What about your losses?

[Answer] Civilian losses increased markedly in 1984, but it is hard to cite specific figures. On the other side, our "military" losses are well below those of the Soviets.

[Question] Have you seen any signs of improved combat effectiveness in the Soviet Expeditionary Corps?

[Answer] There are two types of Soviet soldier: the ordinary draftees and the commandos. The draftees have no morale at all; they are poorly trained, and they have no idea of how to fight this kind of a war. The commandos, though, fight very well; they are obviously trained and highly motivated. They fight on foot and in small units, but never with strength of less than 40 men.

Local Differences

[Question] Can you give us your point of view about the political situation in the Afghan resistance?

[Answer] There is always talk in the West about the split in the resistance. Yet, in your democratic societies, there is also a multiplicity of political parties, which are frequently in violent opposition with one another. Since most of the Afghan population is involved in the resistance, it is normal for there to be broad political diversity. The diversity of political parties is proof of democracy, even though military effectiveness may suffer thereby. The difference with your societies has to do with two things: as we are all armed, local differences quickly escalate into settling of scores; furthermore, the KGB encourages such petty squabbles to weaken the resistance from within. It has actually used this as its prime strategy for the past 2 years.

Even so, as you have seen for yourself, coordination between commanders in the interior is improving. In my region, I find the situation entirely satisfactory this year.

[Question] Where does the union of the Peshawar parties stand?

[Question] I was talking about that with Mawlawi Kholes (head of the Hezb-e-Islami movement to which Abdul Haqq belongs: Ed.) just before I left. Our mistake was in trying to create a major alliance, come what might. Our differences run too deep, and any alliance embracing all of us would fly in the face of nature. We have to move by stages. That is what we have to do now. We therefore propose building a shared platform on the fundamental issues. These questions have to do generally with problems of political strategy, rather than with ideology: ought we or ought we not to agree to joint negotiations with the Soviets? Is King Zaher acceptable or isn't he? What should be our policy toward the Arab countries and the West? Once we have hammered out a joint platform on these fundamental issues, we must choose a single spokesman -- whether he belongs to a party or to none makes no difference: the main thing is that this spokesman feel bound by the joint platform and that he not indulge in personal politics, a failing we have seen all too much of thus far. Therefore the right approach is not to call for a union of all parties, but rather to set up a joint commission to settle local conflicts. Another essential job is to establish a shared education system, both in the refugee camps and in the interior of the country. This is a program, it is our program, but thus far it has not been implemented.

[Question] Younous Kholes, president of your party, who is himself a religious leader, touched off quite a sensation when he publicly denounced the Arab countries, accusing them of fomenting dissension in the Afghan resistance, and lending aid only to strawmen who represent neither political parties nor military commanders in the interior. Was that only an outburst of irritation?

[Answer] Not at all. Mawlawi Kholes rails constantly at the Arab countries' ignorance of the real situation inside Afghanistan and the hypocrisy of their policy vis-a-vis the parties in Peshawar. I subscribe whole-heartedly to everything he has said. The Arab countries are Muslim countries: that makes their duties and their responsibilities so much the greater.

[Question] What is your party's policy vis-a-vis the other parties in Peshawar?

[Answer] We strike an even balance among all the other groups, in the country as well as outside, and we hope that our plan for union by stages will be accepted by the other groups, because it is the only realistic approach.

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CS0: 4619/42

AFGHANISTAN

MUJAHIDIN REPORTEDLY SUFFER FROM LACK OF WEAPONS, TRAINING

East Burnham ARABIA, THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 42, Feb 85
pp 10-13

[Text]

 We look out over the Samkani valley. Not far away, dotted with dug-outs and trenches, is enemy Garrison No 18 Sahrin-Naw. Our vantage point is a hill overlooking the valley; from here we observe activity in the camp.

The Mujahideen commander shouts to us to keep low, as the slightest movement will provoke a barrage of enemy gunfire. For five years the Mujahideen have had the garrison under siege, successfully blockading this and the land supply routes of other garrisons in the province of Paktia. Both sides have conducted an entrenched war throughout this period.

Down in the valley there are sudden quick flashes of light, followed by rapid firing of shots. Seconds later, we hear the explosion of mortar grenades as they hit the village just over 200 metres away. Most of the civilian population left the villages in the valley long ago, driven away by daily shelling of their homes. Only partisans live here now. The Mujahideen commander removes the cover from a 12.7mm MG and aims at the enemy look-out post about 2km away.

Almost immediately the fire is returned by heavier armour; an unequal duel of heavy automatic weapons against light hand-held weapons begins. Although the Mujahideen possess a pair of 82mm grenade throwers, they have run out of grenades. There is chaos as the MG loading mechanism jams after only a few minutes firing. It appears that the recently repaired bullet extractor has broken down once again. This shambles, and a sudden heavy downpour of rain, brings the short battle to an end for both sides.

The evening is spent in one of the nearby villages, drinking tea. We are unexpectedly joined by Khalifa (Master)

Mianor. He is the area commander in the valley and also leader of the Naqshbandi sect. The Mujahideen are in awe, and express their deep respect by kissing his hand. For them, the Khalifa, who lost a leg when he trod on a mine, is the symbol of unyielding strength in their fight against the unholy. He sits down with us and unstraps his wooden leg to rest for a while.

Before long he begins to preach about the misfortune and heavy burden that Allah has sent to test the Afghans. He implores the Mujahideen to fight like their ancestors had done. He calls the Schuawis (Russians) the pestilence which must be wiped out. Listening intently, two of the Mujahideen jump up excitedly. They run screaming into the night shouting a battlecry. They are followed by several of their colleagues, who prevent them running into the minefield. After calming down they return in silence.

Next morning we were shown a collection of Russian mines, the reason the garrison has been able to hold out for so long. None of the Mujahideen have any expertise in minefield clearance, their makeshift tools being no more than simple garden rakes. As well as plastic land mines, government troops also use splinter mines, which scatter lethal fragments over a radius of some 60 metres. The mines are more feared by the men than the helicopter gunship attacks, which are also frequently used by government troops, to attack the partisans. One Mujahideen in our party commented that it was a strange feeling: not to be able to trust the ground under one's feet.

We take up position in one of the frontline posts, about a kilometre from the garrison. We watch the arrival of two

Mi-8 transport helicopters which brings daily supplies to the 800 government troops and their Russian advisers. Government troops open up with a barrage of cover fire to ensure the helicopters a safe landing. Three T-55 tanks join in shelling the partisans' MG positions just behind us. Shelling is maintained while the helicopters unload.

The Mujahideen watch the feverish activity in the enemy camp. I am reminded constantly of a comment made by Khalifa Abdul Wahed: "The Mujahideen are grateful for the weapons supplied by the West to the resistance movement, even though they are the cause of many partisan losses and are contributing in part to the destruction of Afghanistan. Up to now however, we have been unable to achieve any major victories with these weapons and have also failed to drive the Russians out of Afghanistan." The helicopters depart, completely unhindered, and soon disappear among the distant hills.

At lunch time canteen supplies arrive, brought by men who have risked their lives to reach us. Lunch consists of the local unleavened bread and sweet tea. Then we stay in the trench until dusk. As soon as it is dark enough, a group of Mujahideen prepare to leave on a commando mission to attack one of the enemy look-out posts. Shortly afterwards a loud noise alerts the enemy, who begin to fire wildly into the area in front of our trenches, where the Mujahideen were picking their way through the mines towards the enemy. Before long the group returns, looking defeated and carrying two seriously wounded men.

My TV crew and I decide to leave Paktia and move to Nangahar. In the Zazi valley we come across a village which had been bombed by Soviet MiG fighters the day before, using a new type of bomb which we had not previously encountered. It is a container half filled with explosives and half with a thick gum like napalm. It separates into masses of fragments that are sprayed over a wide area on explosion and burn for days. The explosion mechanism is triggered either on impact or in mid-air by a pre-set timing device. It causes devastating injuries and destruction.

While filming the village we meet a man who is reputed to be a government spy. We see him leaving the village en route to Ali Khel garrisons which are approximately an hour's walk from here. Nearly 1½ hours later, just as we are

drinking tea with the local commander, we are alerted by the dull sound of guns in the distance. The interpreter yells "Take cover; it is meant for us" and everyone sprawls on the ground. Simultaneously, we hear the whistling of 122mm artillery grenades moments before they explode in the hillside about 35 metres away. The firing ceases as suddenly as it started. In reply to the question -- why has no one eliminated the spy before -- the commander merely shrugs his shoulders.

After a week's marching we arrive in Tessin. The journey has been a difficult one. The shortest route was over a 1,500-metre mountain, but as the snow was waist high, this way proved too difficult not only for us, but also for our pack animals. The animals, each loaded with about 55kg of our gear, just sank into the snow under their load, unable to move at all after a while. We abandoned our plan to go over the mountain, and chose the alternative route around it, which was twice as long.

The route through the Tessin valley was, until a few months ago, the main infiltration route for the Mujahideen from Kabul, Panjshir and north Afghanistan. As the big thaw began the Soviets launched a major offensive aimed at wiping out this supply route once and for all.

The villages lining the route were systematically demolished by air attacks. A network of mines was laid, and supply caravans en route to resistance groups were attacked by paratroops and destroyed. The Soviets also set up a chain of observation platforms along the Kabul river from Kabul to Sairobi, manned by heavily armed guards who shoot at any movement within their territory.

The second phase was a major attack on the Panjshir valley. Because of the devastation of the villages, most of the inhabitants, mostly peasants, had fled to nearby Pakistan. As a result, hardly any food was to be found in the area, which made life extremely difficult for us during our journey. We noticed hungry wolf-like dogs, roaming through the deserted villages, and a general feeling of doom descended on our party.

An old man who had decided to remain and face whatever life had to offer, drew our attention to the destruction of his village and in particular to an empty drum, which had contained five magnesium/phosphor rods, each approximately two metres long. These rods had produced sufficient heat to melt stone. One can only wonder what kind of horrific effect that

type of weapon must have had on the surrounding villages. We suddenly feel we have seen enough of the horrors of war, and we prepare to move on. This was easier said than done. Our first hurdle was to cross the butterfly-mined shrubland. We began to pick our way around these bright green coloured mines, which had been dropped from low flying helicopters in order to deter the Mujahideen using the route at night.

Our two Mujahideen guides lead us to a nearby (government) watch post, manned by civilian employees, who appeared to be friendly and turned out to be partisan sympathisers. Their job was to guard the high voltage power lines between Kabul and Sairobi. The government is having to pay dearly for the protection of these power lines. Not only does it pay the civilians, it also gives large sums of money to the leaders of sects through whose territory the lines run, all in the hope that supplies remain protected.

After sharing some bread and tea with the watchmen, we move on. After a short distance we meet Dr Scharouch, the vice-commander of the Gilani resistance group which dominates this area. He takes us to headquarters, hidden in the nearby hills.

Here we encounter the Mujahideen preparing for a major operation. The plan is for a two-day blockade of the main road between Kabul and Jalalabad near Sairobi. This operation is to coincide with the anniversary of the communist uprising on April 27. The place is alive with activity, with men cleaning their weapons, checking armour and collecting ammunition. The departure of the men is planned for the day after tomorrow.

The next day, instead of the expected rest, we endure another air raid. In action are MiGs and Sukhoi jets, led by wave after wave of helicopters which unload their armoury onto six villages. The bombing goes on for two hours. The attack begins with the dropping of magnesium flares designed to stop any partisan ground-to-air attack. The entire operation is masterminded from a twin-engined aircraft circling high above the fighter aircraft and helicopters.

Although the Mujahideen possess two captured SA-7 ground-to-air missile launchers they are unable to make use of these weapons because they lack the necessary battery power. Helpless and frustrated, they watch the deadly display from the safety of their well-camouflaged trench on the hill. Without doubt, Afghanistan and its resistance movement

provides the Soviets with a giant military-exercise arena, an ideal testing ground for new weapons and techniques, and a place where the Red Army is assured first class battle training for its troops.

At sunrise the next morning the Mujahideen load their gear onto pack animals, and are ready to depart. The 50 men now on route will be joined by many more on the journey. Towards evening, after a long and tiresome climb up the mountain they need to cross to get to their planned destination, 150 men prepare to spend the night. Before anyone can rest the leader, Wali Khan, gives the men their final instructions for the following two days. After supper of dry bread we discover that there is no water anywhere near and finally settle down for the night.

The next morning after prayers, feeling hungry and thirsty, we prepare for the final lap of the journey, which will take us to the point where the Mujahideen plan to block the Kabul-Jalalabad road. Before we leave a small advance party of commandos departs to attack the three enemy observation posts which are manned by heavily-armed soldiers.

Shortly after, the rest of the men begin to descend the mountainside, careful not to kick loose any stones which might make a noise and alert the enemy. Suddenly the silence is broken by a loud explosion, followed by rapid firing from automatic weapons. The order is to wait. After about an hour, the commandos return, wearily dragging a bloody bundle behind them, their faces reflecting the horrors of having just watched one of their comrades being torn apart by an exploding mine.

They had almost reached the road when the mine was set off. They knew this to be mine infested but still appeared taken aback by what had happened. Complete chaos breaks out while the men try to reach a decision on what to do next. In the end they abandon the planned blockade.

To us it seems incredible that a single incident like an exploding mine, although it meant the loss of a man, should stop the rest from pressing ahead with their original (or at least a revised) plan of action. The event perhaps reflects one of the main problems, that the Afghan resistance movement lacks really able commanders in the field. After the Russian invasion of Afghanistan, the role of leadership and organisation of the resistance movement automatically fell to the religious leaders. Almost without exception they were lacking in military training or experience.

To add to these difficulties relationships with one another were often less than desirable due to long standing rivalries and acrimony among neighbouring sects, preventing the formulation of a single strategy for the resistance movement. Even the greatest heroism of the men and their willingness to endure the most fearful conditions cannot compensate for poor leadership.

Near Eiperan ten days later, we came across the vice-commander (Harakat) for the province of Logar. He revealed that the Mujahideen from many different provinces had not received ammunition supplies since the end of last summer, leaving them almost defenceless against ever-increasing attacks. The Logar valley has been almost depopulated through the strategic bombings carried out by the enemy towards the end of last year. Since January however, an inexplicable ceasefire has existed.

On April 23 the commander received an official offer of a ceasefire on condition that the Mujahideen should forthwith cease to attack all convoys on the Kabul-Gardez road; and undertake to ban the free movement of Mujahideen not belonging to the Logar province.

The offer also had the following clause: any Mujahideen who wished to continue to fight should do so in Logar's neighbouring provinces. From this offer and other indications it seems that the government strategy is to add one province after another to those with which it already has a ceasefire agreement like, for instance, Nangahar. The commander has decided to agree in principle but imposes his own terms which are:

① That an agreed number of government and Russian hostages are handed into Mujahideen custody, during the ceasefire negotiations;

② To withdraw all Russian and Afghan troops from Logar;

③ The cessation of bombing of the province;

④ All prisoners from Logar back to the time of Taraki to be released.

Uncertain about the outcome of the ceasefire negotiations we decide to return to Pakistan. On our way we see large numbers of supply caravans intended for the resistance. The caravans for north Afghanistan have had to be rerouted

through Logar because of government blockades on the Nangahar route. The bulk of these supplies are intended for the resistance in Panjshir where the Mujahideen are fighting two Russian divisions. The Mujahideen we talked to complained bitterly about the Pakistanis delaying the release of their weapons and ammunition for over six weeks. Many resistance groups are still waiting for supplies at the Afghanistan/Pakistani border.

The civilian population appears to be strongly behind the Mujahideen even after five long years of war and deprivation. But critics who are now increasing in number are beginning to argue for unity among the various resistance organisations. Afghanistan, however, has never been a unified nation. Internal politics have always been the prerogative of the Khans to go their independent ways. How this factor influences the war in Afghanistan is made clear by the following example. After the successful blockade and surrender of the Serrei Garrison in Paktia in October 1983 the Mujahideen captured five fully operational tanks, some heavy artillery and other weapons and ammunition. Instead of using these weapons in their fight against the Ali Khel Garrison just 16km away, they preferred to sell the lot over the nearby border in Pakistan. The reason was that the Ali Khel Garrison was in a neighbouring sect's territory and therefore nothing to do with them. It is well known in government circles that this sort of disunity is widespread among the various resistance factions and the government fully exploits this weakness.

One of the most recent government actions is to seek to starve the civilian population into submission, through buying up all of the last harvest's grain at low bulk prices. This allows the government to control the release of grain during the winter, at inflated prices. This action has exacerbated the already existing food shortage among the population, in particular the peasants. Only well paid government employees can afford to pay the inflated prices. The peasants cannot afford them -- all they can do is tighten their belts a bit more. The children are beginning to show the first signs of malnutrition. For Afghanistan the hard times are not over yet.

INDIA

NEW MINISTERS INDUCTED INTO TAMIL NADU CABINET

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Mar 85 p 1

[Text]

MADRAS, March 1.

Seven more Ministers have been inducted into the AIADMK Ministry in Tamil Nadu, taking the strength of the Cabinet to 24.

The Chief Minister, Mr. M. G. Ramachandran, met the Governor, Mr. S. L. Khurana, at the Raj Bhavan this evening and gave him the list. It includes Mr. K. Rajaram, former Speaker, and Mr. T. Veeraswamy, Food Minister in the previous Cabinet. The other five Ministers are newcomers.

Mr. Rajaram has been given the Industries portfolio which was till now retained by the Chief Minister.

Swearing in on Sunday: The Governor told newsmen later that he had accepted the Chief Minister's recommendation and appointed all the seven persons as Ministers. The swearing in is to be held at the Raj Bhavan at 10 a.m. on March 3.

The following are the new Ministers with their designations: Mr. K. Rajaram, Minister for Industries; Mr. V. V. Swaminathan, Minister for Handlooms; Mr. T. Veeraswamy, Minister for Commercial Taxes; Mr. N. Nalluswamy, Minister for Housing; Mr. Anoor Jagadeesan, Minister for Rural Industries; Mr. T. Ramaswami, Minister for Rehabilitation and Employment and Mr. A. Arunachalam, Minister for Adi Dravidar Welfare.

In the previous MGR Ministry, at the time of the dissolution of the Assembly, there were 25 Ministers.

Portfolios

The following is the list of Ministers in their order of seniority and the portfolios allocated to them:

1. **Mr. M. G. Ramachandran (Chief Minister):** Public, General Administration, Indian Administrative Service and other all-India services, District Revenue Officers, Deputy Collectors, Police, Prevention of Corruption, Planning, Molasses, Archaeology, Prohibition excluding grant of liquor permits, Excise and Passports.

2. **Mr. V. R. Nedunchezian (Minister for Finance):** Finance, Revenue, Legislature, Elections,

Statistics, Youth Service Corps and Ex-Servicemen.

3. **Mr. S. Ramachandran (Minister for Electricity):** Electricity, Iron and Steel Control, Newspaper Control, Stationery and Printing and Government Press.

4. **Mr. K. A. Krishnaswamy (Minister for Labour):** Labour, Animal Husbandry, Milk, Dairy Development, Registration and Stamp Act.

5. **Mr. R. M. Veerappan (Minister for Information and Religious Endowments):** Information and Publicity, Film Technology, Tourism, Tourism Development Corporation, Cinematograph Act, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments, Forest, Cinchona and grant of liquor permits.

6. **Mr. K. Rajaram (Minister for Industries):** Large-Scale Industries, Mines and Minerals, Electronics, Science and Technology.

7. **Mr. C. Aranganayagam (Minister for Education):** Education, Official Language, Tamil Development and Culture.

8. **Mr. K. Kalimuthu (Minister for Agriculture):** Agriculture, Agricultural Refinance, Agricultural Engineering Wing and Agro Engineering, Agro Service Cooperative Societies, TWAD Board.

9. **Mr. C. Ponnaiyan (Minister for Law):** Law, Courts, Prisons, Legislation on Weights and Measures, Registration of Companies, Debt Relief including legislation on money-lending and legislation on chits.

10. **Dr. H. V. Hande (Minister for Health):** Health and Environmental Pollution Control.

11. **Mr. S. Muthusamy (Minister for Transport):** Transport, Nationalised Transport, Motor Vehicles Act and Ports and Highways.

12. **Mr. S. Thirunavukkarasu (Minister for Food):** Food, Price Control and Census.

13. **Mr. V. V. Swaminathan (Minister for Handlooms):** Handlooms and Textiles.

14. **Mr. R. Soundararajan (Minister for Local Administration):** Municipal Administration, Panchayats and Panchayat Unions, Community Development and Rural Indebtedness.

15. **Mr. T. Veeraswamy (Minister for Commercial Taxes):** Commercial Taxes.

16. **Mr. N. Nalluswamy (Minister for Hou-**

sing): Housing and Slum Clearance Board, Town Planning and Accommodation Control.

17. **Mr. Anoor Jagadeesan (Minister for Rural Industries):** Rural Industries including village, cottage and small industries.

18. **Mr. T. Ramaswamy (Minister for Rehabilitation and Employment):** Employment and Training, Indians Overseas, Refugees and Evacuees.

19. **Mr. A. Arunachalam (Minister for Adi Dravidar Welfare):** Adi Dravidar Welfare, Hill Tribes and Bonded Labour.

20. **Mr. M. R. Govendhan (Minister for Backward Classes):** Backward Classes and Fisheries.

21. **Mrs. Gomathi Srinivasan (Minister for Social Welfare and Nutritious Meals):** Nutritious Meals, Social Welfare including Women and Children Welfare, Beggars Home, Orphanages and Correctional Administration.

22. **Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Palanisamy (Minister for Khadi):** Khadi, Bhoodan and Gramdan.

23. **Mr. Y. S. M. Yusuf (Minister for Public Works):** PWD, Irrigation including Minor Irrigation and Wakfs.

24. **Mr. K. K. S. S. R. Ramachandran (Minister for Cooperation):** Cooperation.

CSO: 4600/1400

INDIA

PROBLEMS WITH ASSAM DRAFT ELECTORAL ROLLS FORESEEN

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 2 Mar 85 p 9

[Article by Chinmoy Thakurta]

[Text]

GUWAHATI, March 1.--The people of Assam are awaiting anxiously publication of the draft electoral rolls which may give a new dimension to the delicate "foreign nationals issue" in Assam. After detailed scrutiny of the names already enumerated, the draft electoral rolls are likely to be published this month.

During the intensive revision of rolls, according to official sources, the enumerators have prepared a general list of those who have attained the age of 21. From this, two separate lists have been made. The first contains the names of those who figured in the 1971 electoral rolls and their descendants. The remaining names have been put in the second list for scrutiny by police, revenue and forest officials.

Leaders of the All-Assam Students Union and Assam Gana Sangram Parishad, who are spearheading the movement against the "aliens", maintain that the voters' lists will not be acceptable to them unless the names of the non-citizens are deleted. They will think of a fresh programme of agitation if the Centre is found wanting in its enthusiasm for a satisfactory solution of the "foreigners" problems. Understandably, this has caused misgivings among linguistic and religious minorities, particularly those coming from Bangladesh.

The scrutiny of the enumerated names is being conducted by the police in constituencies where the increase of names is 40% or more in comparison with 1971. The modalities of such "scrutiny" have not been made public and this has given rise to apprehension in certain circles. Meanwhile, a memorandum has been submitted to the Chief Electoral Officer by a sec-

tion of the people in the Pandu-Maligaon area, protesting against the police verification of all the residents, including those whose names appeared in the 1971 rolls.

It is being alleged that there is ample scope for manipulation in the enumerated lists. Citing an example, a voter of the minority community complained that some agitation leaders reportedly exercised pressure on many Assamese-speaking people in the Brahmaputra Valley not to provide the names of families belonging to minorities.

Purbanchaliya Loka Parishad sources, on the other hand, allege that the process of intensive revision of rolls is a planned move to confer voting rights on "illegal migrants". Against this background, the people at large are anxious to see how things take shape after the publication of the electoral rolls.

While the Assam agitation leaders here are publicly saying that any settlement on the "foreign national" issue would include the dissolution of the present Saikia Ministry, Congress (I) sources, however, assert that the revision and updating of the electoral rolls

in Assam does not mean that the 1983 Assembly elections have become irrelevant. As such there is no question of holding fresh elections to the State Assembly along with the Lok Sabha poll.

SET AT REST

All controversies over the voters' lists in Assam were set at rest by the Election Commission's announcement that an intensive revision of the rolls would be conducted from November 15. Innumerable rounds of discussion between the Assam agitation leaders and the Centre have been held over the years but nothing concrete has emerged so far. In an apparent show of strength, the Assam movement leaders at a public meeting here recently launched a tirade against the Saikia Ministry which has been instrumental in giving protection to the linguistic and religious minorities, and restoring law and order in the State.

Congress (I) circles seem uneasy at being left out from the negotiations between the AASU leaders and the Centre. Even senior party leaders have little knowledge of what is happening behind closed doors.

There is a feeling among the minorities that if their interest is sacrificed at the cost of the majority community for a settlement on the "foreign nationals issue", Assam will again be plunged into turmoil. How the new leaders in Delhi will look at the whole thing is a matter of concern to many.

The Election Commission's decision not to hold parliamentary elections in Assam last December was not surprising because the process of intensive revision of rolls was on. That was the second time the country went to the polls without Assam. During the 1980 Lok Sabha polls, when the Election Commission had issued directives

for elections in the State, the agitation leaders had refused to allow the polls on the grounds that the voters' lists included names of foreign nationals.

Except for the two Lok Sabha seats in the Bengali-dominated Cachar district, the constituencies in Assam had been unrepresented since 1980. This has deprived the people of Assam of their legitimate share in national policy formulations. Mr Hiteswar Saikia, the State's Chief Minister, has however, indicated that once the final electoral rolls are ready, the Lok Sabha election can be held any time.

LIFE NORMAL

Life in Guwahati, the gateway to the north-east, looks normal, at least on the surface. Commercial areas remain busy till late in the evening. Shops and markets are crowded. Public vehicles ply without any restrictions imposed on them. In spite of all this, people talk about the electoral rolls and express their concern over the deadlock on the "foreigners issue". Large number of so-called "foreigners" have been assimilated in the socio-economic fabric of the State by virtue of their long stay and it will not be very easy to remove them forcibly and settle them elsewhere. The process of "identification of aliens" is a delicate and sensitive matter.

To suggest a theoretical definition, totally ignoring the human aspect of the problem, will give rise to complications. But there is a general feeling of optimism among the people that with Mr Rajiv Gandhi taking special interest in ensuring peace in the north-eastern States, a workable and acceptable solution to the vexed problem of "foreigners" will be found soon.

INDIA

CPI STUDENTS WING SCORES BENGAL LEFT FRONT

Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 1 Mar 85 p 4

[Text]

Calcutta, Feb. 28: Some Left partners played "a negative role" during the Lok Sabha elections which cost the Front a number of seats, according to the political resolution adopted at the 24th state conference of the All-India Students' Federation (AISF), the students' wing of the CPI, which ended here today.

The resolution has pointed out that open confrontation among the Front's ministers and statements by them in bourgeois newspapers created confusion among the people about the government and also influenced the student community. As a result, unorganised students campaigned for Congress(I) candidates in many places, it said.

It was felt that the Left Front government should openly tell

the masses the difficulties it was facing in implementing its policies within the present framework.

The conference felt that the students were tilted towards the Congress(I) since the bourgeois newspapers campaigned against the Front and also because the Front's campaign was comparatively weaker. Added to it was the absence of a strong and protracted students' movement in the state.

The Front's education policy should be reviewed to ascertain whether it was possible for the government to implement a people-oriented education policy. It was also pointed out that the students were facing difficulties due to delayed results and, therefore, the entire examination system should be changed.

CSO: 4600/1397

INDIA

BRIEFS

AMBASSADORIAL ASSIGNMENTS--Mr S.K. Singh is to be India's next ambassador to Pakistan. He will succeed Mr K.D. Sharma. Mr Singh is at present ambassador to Austria. The High Commissioner to Nigeria, Mr Ashok Kumar Ray, has been concurrently accredited ambassador to Cameroon. [Text] [BK180110 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 15 Mar 85]

GRANT TO BHUTAN--India will provide a grant of 24.4 crore rupees to Bhutan to finance its fifth development plan. This will be in addition to an assistance of about 100 crore rupees already extended. The offer was made during the discussions the visiting Bhutanese delegation had with Indian officials in New Delhi. [Text] [BK180110 Delhi General Overseas Service in English 1330 GMT 15 Mar 85]

CSO: 4600/1424


IRAN

REPORTER COMMENTS ON EXISTING ISSUES AFTER VISITING COUNTRY

East Burnham ARABIA, THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English No 42, Feb 85
pp 6-7, 9

[Article by Fahmy Howaidi]

[Text]

 For many people in Teheran, the revolution's sixth year, which starts at the end of this month, is bound to be decisive. Some issues are still pending, some public, and others being debated behind the scenes in Teheran and Qom. Many of these questions cannot be put off any longer, and the events of the new year will automatically stir them anew — whether the politicians like it or not.

Anyone just arriving in Teheran will feel that the war with Iraq is the main concern of the Iranian leadership. The closer one gets to the seat of power and to behind-the-scenes activity, the more one realises that the war is not the only concern, and that there are equally vital issues which are a major preoccupation of Iranian rulers and politicians.

I have just spent three weeks in Iran, travelling between Teheran and Qom. I had several discussions with key figures in the regime and religious elite. I came to the conclusion that there are four major and decisive issues in the political arena at present. The future of the revolution and of Islamic Iran will be decided by the manner in which those issues are settled.

For all parties the war is the top priority — and it is practically impossible to stop the war now. On the other hand, there are great pressures being exerted on Iran to convince it that winning the war is impossible. Despite this, Iranian military and political circles believe that talks about peace are out of the question now. The masses have been mobilised for the war for four years now, and they have suffered heavily and dearly. It will not therefore be logical for the leadership to discuss peace

without any military or political gains.

The well-informed in Teheran say that Iran has received indirect messages from the two superpowers to the effect that an Iranian victory is unacceptable. They have many proofs to support this viewpoint. I can reveal exclusively that, following Iran's recapture of Khorramshahr (Al Muhammara) more than ~~two~~ years ago, which was considered a major military victory, the Soviet Union massed more than 100,000 troops on Iran's northern borders and carried out extensive military exercises. Soviet troops even crossed the Iranian borders at Azrabejan, and others were deployed on some Iranian mountains and hills. A few days later they were withdrawn, Moscow's message having been received.

The same sources add that every time Iran scores a victory in the war, the two superpowers start sending arms to Iraq, under the pretext of "restoring the military balance" on the battle front.

In the present situation, Iranian public opinion favours continuation of the war. One reason is that the masses have already paid the price in advance: another is the feeling that the whole war is being waged in defence of the state of Islam and the revival of Islam. If the historical background dominating Shiite thinking were added to all previous factors, the war would then, from the Iranian viewpoint, be taken as a continuation of the injustices that have befallen the Shiites since the days of Mu'awia and the assassination of Imam al-Hussein. Some even go so far as to call the present war "Kerbala II", the first being the battle in which Imam al-

Hussein was murdered.

In Isfahan, an Iranian city known for its extremism, there are some who call for the "Kerbala option" — that is, fighting the war to the last man and child. Another party to that trend is that ever-expanding civilian army, the so-called "martyrs' families." This is a host of more than a million people belonging to the families who lost their sons in the war, and who dream constantly of revenge.

In political circles it is said that the war is three things: first, an aggression on the frontiers of Iran; second, an injustice inflicted on Iran, by the Arab world in particular, the majority of which sided with the aggression; third, pressure aimed at breaking the Iranian will and subjecting Revolutionary Iran to the rules of international "formulas and games."

Arab bias against Iran came as a surprise to the Iranians and provokes in them the old feelings of injustice. Now, they demand not only the liberation of land, but also the restoration of prestige. Those of this opinion believe that, had the Arab attitude been fairer and more objective towards the war, matters might have taken a totally different course.

Many in Iran also say that, as far as mediation attempts already made are concerned, the country's leadership has not seen in these efforts enough honesty, sincerity and insistence on fairness. They feel that those mediators wish, in fact, to "sell us to others," and that when Iran is presented with a sincere and fair mediator, it will lend attentive ears and open hearts to whatever is said.

Those in close contact with the Iranian leadership say that the war will not stop until a military or political success has been scored. Military matters are cloaked in secrecy: on the political front some believe that a declaration from any Arab or Islamic political and neutral body, or from an independent group of importance, including religious scholars, vindicating Iran would be an acceptable start to peace talks.

The second major issue under discussion is the struggles and conflicts within the Iranian leadership. The main battlefield of this struggle, is the Islamic Republican Party itself, which is supposed to be the mouthpiece of the "Imam line." The struggle has left its mark on internal politics, and has been disruptive, particularly in the economy. Leading antagonists are President Ali Khamenei and Hashemi Rafsanjani, Speaker of the Majlis-e-Shura (parliament).

Opposition between the trends represented by Khamenei and Rafsanjani surfaced only recently. It had not appeared before for two reasons. The first was because the revolution in the first two years was preoccupied with the confrontation between the Islamic trend and the secular one. It was only logical for the different sections of the religious scholars' front to unite and close ranks in its confrontations with the other trend, and to set their differences aside. When the scholars got control of the situation, the door was re-opened for different currents within the Islamic trend. The second reason was that the Islamic Republican Party was led by the strong and prominent personality of Ayatollah Beheshti, a fact which helped a great deal in uniting and closing the ranks of the party. The assassination of Beheshti in 1982 led to leadership struggles.

The whole issue may look like a conflict between two currents: one hawkish, represented by Rafsanjani and backed by Prime Minister Hussein Musavi; and the other, more moderate, represented by Khamenei, and backed by a considerable number of Qom religious leaders and scholars.

Economic policies are the real test of this conflict. Among unresolved issues are those of foreign trade, cooperatives, and the feudal holdings in Iran. There are those who advocate total state control of foreign trade, the substituting of cooperatives for the private sector in internal trade, the restriction of land ownership, and redistribution of extra land to small farmers.

The other trend is firmly opposed to state monopoly of foreign trade, and against restricting the economic freedom of individuals. It, however, agrees to state intervention in exceptional circumstances, provided that the government submits to a court of law their reasons justifying state monopoly of a certain commodity, and for a limited period of time. Adherents of this view believe the state's monopoly should never become the rule. This trend uses the same reasoning to defend freedom of internal trade.

As to restrictions on land ownership, this trend believes that Islam imposes certain restrictions, but on quality, not quantity. They believe that land owned by an individual illegally, by inflicting injustice or with haram (illegitimate) money, may be confiscated by the state after a court order is granted to that effect. If, however, an individual has acquired the land in a legitimate manner and with halal

money, the state will have no Shariah (Islamic law) justification to take it from him, in whole or in part.

They add that there should be no need for state takeover of land in Iran, because there are thousands of acres that need reclamation; instead of confiscating land from its owners and redistributing it, it would be better and more useful to reclaim that land and then distribute it to small farmers.

Conflict over these issues has had an adverse effect on the economic life of the country, which cannot stand such differences for long. Current economic policies are based on the decrees and orders taken by the Revolutionary Council, in conformity with the first trend. These have not yet assumed the force of constitutional laws, a situation which is impossible to continue, and must be decided one way or the other.

The two symbols of the "intransigent" trend, which advocates state interference and restricting the bazaar, Rafsanjani and Musavi, belong, socially, to the bazaar. Rafsanjani comes from a large land owning family in the town of Rafsanjan. Musavi is an architect, and the son of one of the largest tea merchants in Teheran. Khamenei, the president, belongs to a modest family from Khami'n, and does not own a home in Teheran.

Musavi and Rafsanjani are well aware that the bazaar merchants have already won a great deal and will not suffer much if the state takes control of foreign trade. Khamenei's attitude is interpreted within the context of Islamic jurisprudence. His supporters also point to the failed "public sector" experiments in Arab countries like Egypt, Algeria and Syria.

While the majority in parliament supports Rafsanjani, most Faqihs (religious scholars) back Khamenei. These are mainly represented in the Council of the Guardians of the Constitution, formed according to the Constitution (six Mujtahed jurists and six lawyers recommended by the Supreme Judicial Council). Its duties are to ensure complete conformity of parliamentary decisions to the Islamic Shariah. The constitution makes the legitimacy of any laws passed by the Majlis conditional on the approval of the Council of the Guardians.

Wherever contradictions emerge between the resolutions of the Majlis and Islamic Shariah, the decision taken by the majority of jurists is the one to be adopted. Jurists of the Council of the Guardians have returned the draft law on

foreign trade to the Majlis three times to modify it according to what the Council believes is in conformity with the Shariah. The law has still to be passed, although it has been prepared for more than three years.

The third issue being debated is that of the succession to Ayatollah Khomeini. It is not a new issue but Khomeini's age—he is now 85—and poor health makes it increasingly urgent.

It is clear in Iran that Ayatollah Montazeri will succeed Khomeini. The official Iranian media already accepts this and Ayatollah Montazeri is always presented alongside Khomeini. He is now also being called "Ayatollah al-Uzma" (The Great).

Montazeri is a leading figure, well respected by the people for his humility and purity. However, despite the backing of the people and the support of Khomeini, powerful religious leaders in Qom have reservations about the proposed succession.

Among the influential leaders in Qom are Ayatollah Kulbaikani, Ayatollah Marashi Najafi, Ayatollah Shariat Madari, and Ayatollah Mohammed Shirazi. All advocate a consultative committee of religious leaders to replace the one single imam as the highest authority. Such a notion of collective leadership is rooted in Iranian Shiite experience: the sole leadership of Ayatollah Khomeini, as leader of the revolution, is the exception.

Those who propose a consultative committee say that there are great risks in the continuation of the idea of one single leader. One is that such a sole leadership might degenerate into despotism. The present Iranian constitution allows for the leadership to be assumed by a council of jurists.

The fourth issue is the fate of wilayat al-Faqih (authority of the jurist). The idea of wilayat al-Faqih remains a mere political and religious opinion attributed to Imam Khomeini. It is not accepted by many religious leaders, particularly in Qom. Some consider this idea as an innovation in Shiite jurisprudence, because none of those who founded the Shiite sect accepted or advocated such an idea. Few, however, go as far as to say that wilayat (authority) belongs only to the absent imam, and no one has the right to assume such a position as long as that imam is absent. Such an assumption will be an encroachment on the rights of the absent Mahdi imam. It is also a confiscation of the role assigned to him.

The majority of jurists who do not support the idea of wilayet al-Faqih say that, in principle, they support the idea of wilayet; their main reservations concern only the limits of such wilayet. Is it absolute, as it is now? Or is it going to be limited? They favour limiting the authority and advocate that those limits should be the point where the imam can deduce a rule and determine compliance with Shariah. Their attitude comes close to that assumed by some after the constitution of 1906 in Iran, which gave a committee of jurists the right to watch over the legitimacy of laws. Though the principle was accepted the committee was not even formed.

Although debates on this issue continue behind the scenes in the scientific and scholarly seminars in Qom, the identification of the idea of wilayet al-Faqih with the person of Imam Khomeini renders the whole issue subject to the continuation of Khomeini as leader. It also means that the issue will be debated only after the death of Khomeini.

The four dominant issues in Iran are linked to other questions — where does the Revolutionary Guard stand? Where does the army stand on these issues? What is the view of the Iranian man in the street? The continuation of the Gulf war may put off many of the conflicts within Iran until some point in the future; the death of Khomeini will push all these conflicts to a climax very soon.

CSO: 4600/356

IRAN

PAPER COMMENTS ON GULF WAR

GF250531 Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 17 Mar 85 p 2

[Editorial by "ZAINAB": "If Anyone Transgresses...Transgress ye Likewise Against Him"]

[Excerpts] The sequence of escalating war developments during the past week has convinced political observers that a serious trend is emerging in the four and half year old conflict between Islamic Iran and Ba'thist Iraq. No matter what aim the Iraqis and their Washington based instigators had followed in initiating a wide-scale military attack against Iran, they were soon frustrated in their dreams. The valiant struggle of the Muslim warriors has forced the usurpers to sit back in their seats, settle for much less than they had intended, and take a defensive stance as opposed to the offensive one they had embarked on. But during the past fortnight, the idolators of Baghdad in particular have faced a rapidly moving and tragic development.

The crucial turning point of the past week's events has been Iran's firm position of equivalent retaliation. The endless list of Iraqi missile attacks on Iranian civilian areas from the start of the war is well known to all. The reason for the retaliation, though explicitly clear for unbiased observers, has even been admitted recently by Western news media. Although they were reluctant to comment on the decline of Saddam at first, they could not help from doing so after the repeated victories of Islam. Saddam is enraged by the unfaltering dominance of the Muslim forces in the war fronts and seeks to alleviate his anguish through incessant missile attacks on the civilian areas of Iran.

In fact this has always been the strategy of the oppressors. Whenever they are confronted with the unwaivering resistance of a nation, and face defeat in war against the people, they resort to inhuman techniques to shatter the morale and courage of a nation. The ploys of imperialism before, during and after the Islamic Revolution are witness to this fact.

The history of all peoples who have risen against oppression evidences the application of such shameful tactics. Only days ago the United States, deeply frustrated as a consequence of its bankrupt policies in Lebanon, resorted to another form of bullying in the United Nations. The heroic resistance of the Lebanese people had left American and Zionist state quite handicapped in the

region. To compensate for this setback Uncle Sam struck back with a Security Council veto. A similar scenario is being played out in Iran. Saddam cannot confront the Islamic Republic on the war front so he strikes in the cities. With respect to the blows inflicted upon the Ba'thist army, whether in terms of casualties, POW's (more than 40 thousand), or political losses, Iraq is facing a great shortage of manpower and above all a lack of morale. French Mirages and diverse overt military aid from the East and West cannot compensate for the manpower and morale shortages. According to Saddam the solution was to be the raiding of Iranian cities. As always, he was wrong in principle.

Today Dezful and Ahvaz and the likes are the evidence. Dezful has not passed a week during the past four years without receiving a missile gifted from Saddam. Till last week Iran had refrained from any reaction other than fierce replies on the war fronts. Yet the self-restraint of the Iranian nation has limits and when those limits were exceeded by the atrocities of Saddam the retaliatory initiatives of the Islamic Republic became inevitable.

Iran began shelling the port city of Basra after days of relentless attacks on her border cities only as a warning to Saddam. Iran had said and is saying repeatedly that it is reluctant to attack cities and has no interest in this tactic except defending its own civilian areas. When Iraq stubbornly continued to expand the scope of its attacks on Iran's central cities, Iran this time took aid from one of its resources which had remained untouched throughout the war. Long and medium range missiles destroyed strategic centers initially in Kirku and then in Baghdad.

This struck the Baghdad regime and army with fear and shattered an already weak morale. However, the worst was yet to come for the Ba'thists. Iran launched a well calculated offensive in one of the most difficult fronts of the south. As usual the Iraqi army was caught off guard and in the initial stages they lost much territory and captives to the Muslim Baseej's Pasdaran [mobilized guards] and conventional Iranian forces. The stunning "Operation Badr," named after the prophet's first battle against the unbelievers of Mecca started countdown for the downfall of Saddam. The synchronization of this operation with Iran's retaliation against Iraq's capital and other cities increased the momentum of the prosecution of the war.

The differences between the two warring fronts gives us glimpse of the future in the present. Iran is fighting for its beliefs, the nation is mobilized and has invested its best resources in this struggle. Saddam fights not for the faith of his people but for the satisfaction of his masters and to remain in power. Hence he has no popular source of support.

The Iranian nation has tolerated well attacks on civilian areas and diverse instigations which have served only to build up the people's faith. Attacks on Iraqi cities and economic installations will bring about a wave of migrations and economic disaster, that may well unhinge Ba'thist party.

The Muslim nation of Iran believes firmly that the fate of the war will be determined on the fronts by the hands of the Muslim warriors whose spirits long for the shrine of Imam Hoseyn and martyrdom. This nation is God-fearing, it has decided to live for God, fight for God and die for God. No force on the face of this earth can confront this determination.

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IRAN

RAFSANJANI: CAPITAL, NOT CAPITALISTS SHOULD BE GIVEN AUTHORITY

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 1 Mar 85 p 17

/Text/ Tehran--IRNA: This week's glorious Friday prayers ceremonies were held throughout the country and were attended by a large number of martyr-nurturing and ever-present people on the scene.

This week's Tehran's Friday prayers were held at Tehran University and the surrounding areas under the imamate of Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Muslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly and the ad interim Friday imam of Tehran.

Pre-Sermon Speaker

Ayatollah Amini, the pre-sermon speaker, after the discussions of the previous session, on the subject of ethics and morality stated: "When we refer to the Koran, its traditions and the narratives, we see that peculiar emphasis and attention has been put on the word 'heart.' In the holy Koran alone this word has been used in 132 different verses; likewise, in the narratives 'heart' has been mentioned many times."

He added: "There is a relationship between the human heart, good-naturedness and immorality, so much so that they have been used in the Koran so often." Ayatollah Amini went on to say: "The great God says in the Koran: On the day of judgment(resurrection) neither wealth nor one's descendants will bring happiness or bliss to any one. The only people who will be blessed or meet beatitude are those who have a sound and sincere heart."

While indicating that an individual's morality, happiness or adversity is completely dependent on his heart, he stated: "It is very important for a person who is interested in his own happiness to know what the word 'heart' means and as far as the Koran is concerned, what is meant by the soundness or sickness of the heart. Do you suppose that the heart as referred to in the Koran means the same thing as the muscular organ which resembles the cone of a fir tree which by its rhythmic contractions and relaxation keeps the blood circulating throughout the body, or does it have other meanings? In the holy Koran the word heart has not been used in the sense of this cone-shaped mass--since this

material organ cannot be the center of perception, intelligence and the faith."

He continued: "In the Koran things such as faith, blasphemy, discord, comprehension, acceptance of truth, denial of truth, guidance, rudeness, godliness, intimacy, dread, doubt, certainty, mercy, judgment, jealousy, tranquility, restlessness, regret, arrogance, sin and things of that nature have all been referred to in conjunction with the heart. From the viewpoint of the Koran, the heart is an attribute of God and the soul. This is the heart which can be pure and enlightening. It can comprehend the truth and reality with proper reasoning. As used in the Koran, heart means the reality of man's divine attribute and his soul."

While pointing to the fact that the human body can be safe and sound or it can become sick or diseased, similarly, the heart can also become sick or remain healthy, he said: "As used in the Koran, the sickness of the heart means that both the very essence of the individual(self) and his soul or spirit are afflicted. As regards the hypocrites' heart, the Koran refers to them as people who have a sickly heart--and it is a sickness which is aggravated by God's dissatisfaction with these people."

He went on to say: "Arrogance, deception, oppression and injustice, selfishness, egocentricity, love of riches, love of position, love of money, greed and such things as these are referred to as the afflictions or sicknesses of a man's soul in the Koran or the hagiographical narratives. The Koran says that when a person is an infidel, his very self is in reality ill. In a like manner, our narratives refer to a jealous, spiteful and revengeful individual as one who in reality is sick in spirit. According to the Koran a person who possesses hideous or inadmirable qualities is a sick man who has to seek remedy."

While indicating that the sickness of the very self cannot be considered insignificant, Ayatollah Amini stated: "The sickness of the soul is of much more consequence than corporeal or physical illness, since with the help of a doctor and medication one can control the sickness of the body, while illness of the soul and immorality cannot be as easily cured. This kind of sickness of the soul is something which can create a permanent ill effect on the souls of our children."

He added: "The hideous qualities of an immoral individual can be addictive and affect all members of the family of such an individual. If a person has physical sickness, it is only himself who will suffer pain while his family or friends will not be affected. On the other hand, if a person is afflicted with a moral or spiritual disease, it is not only himself who is in pain and torture but all his family and friends are affected too. An immoral or unethical person in a household can cause great discomfort to both himself and other members

of his family. A man of immoral character can change the sweet life of a family into one of bitter experiences. Similarly, an immoral or unethical woman, who should be a symbol of pleasantness, intimacy and affection, can turn a home into a hell. All this is but the result of an immoral sickness."

He went on to say that all the wars, bloodshed and despotism in the world are the result of the beastly nature of the human being. An animalistic man will lead many other men to a holocaust of fire and blood for the sake of acquiring a position of power. Such animalistic or carnally diseased individuals will lead the whole world to a sea of blood and fire and place it on the verge of annihilation.

Furthermore, he added: "At any rate, corporeal diseases are limited with a certain degree of pain and suffering, while moral diseases and their effects are boundless. An individual with an ethical or moral sickness is the very personification of apostasy and perverseness--he is probably not aware of his sickness. If we are seeking eternal salvation and happiness, we should pay close attention to moral or ethical afflictions."

Finally, Ayatollah Amini while making a comparison between an Islamic and divine rule(government) and a non-Islamic or an ungodly government stated: "In a divine government before attending to the problem of corporeal illnesses, the matter of incorporeal and spiritual diseases should be taken into consideration. The moral and spiritual hygiene of the general public should be given particular attention, since the programs of a divine government is different from other ungodly rules."

According to this report after the speech of Ayatollah Amini part of imam's speech which had previously been made in Qom was broadcast in consideration of the anniversary of the arrival of the imam in the city of blood and the uprising of the city of Qom after the victory of the Islamic revolution.

First Sermon

Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Muslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the ad interim Friday imam of Tehran, after reciting some verses from the Koran, began his speech. Following a discussion of the previous weeks he continued his speech on the subject of the oppression by colonizing white people of Europe throughout history over the Third World nations.

Concerning this subject, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani pointed out the atrocities of the despotic European governments in their policy and the method of ruling subjugated countries and said: "In order to gain an effective foothold in the administration and government of Third World countries throughout history, Europeans have used whatever means they had in their power. This kind of policy is still going on. They are still trying to use the same policy to dominate oppressed nations."

He also added: "It was clear to the Europeans that without gaining an effective

foothold in the administration and internal policies of the subjugated countries, they would have no chance of dominating other affairs of these nations such as their economic and cultural affairs. Therefore, as long as they were not able to dominate a nation's internal administration and policies, they could not impose their domination in other affairs. For this reason familiarization with the issues regarding the suzerainty of these rulers is very significant since Islam cannot remain indifferent to the matter of interference in the internal affairs of other nations by a third country."

At this point, Mr Hashemi pointed to a narrative of the prophet Mohammad/peace be upon him⁷ and added that even in its teachings regarding every day life of the people, Islam emphasizes the necessity of honest rulers and the administration of government by competent and responsible officials. Islam puts great importance on this matter."

He went on to say: "In order to accomplish their goals, western rulers need to have this kind of managerial domination over the internal affairs of the subjugated countries. However, the method or mode of attaining such domineering suzerainty or the matter of finding the right people who can easily be attracted to serve their arrogant interests poses a dilemma to them.

"This was not a difficult task to accomplish in those countries which were officially and completely colonized. In such countries the rulers and their administrators were easily selected by the colonizing governments and they would follow their masters' orders exactly. However, in such countries as Iran, which was to a certain extent under the influence of some foreign governments, selection or lack of available dependent agents posed a problem for the colonizing powers."

At the end of this sermon Mr Rafsanjani stated: "In the countries which are actually dependent but on the surface pretend to be independent--and one can find so many of them today--the dilemma of the selection or lack of available dependent agents still exists. In other words, honest and competent administrators of no country in the world are ready to put the interests of their own nations at the disposal of a foreign government. It is for this reason that the people who are influenced by the foreigners are the kind of individuals who completely disregard or sacrifice the interests of a whole nation in order to reach their own personal goals. The ugly and uncomely history of subjugated nations speak of the character of such people. In colonized countries which fall under the influence of some arrogant powers, the ruling and administrative stooges are unsympathetic and insensitive individuals who are not concerned with the interests and benefits of their own nation. For instance, at the present time some rulers of the countries in the region such as Sudan, Egypt, Afghanistan and so forth are forfeiting the interests of their nations for the sake of a limited self-interest. They have decided to put the destiny of a

nation in the hands of some foreign power. But let's see what kind of individuals will go so far as to ignore the well being of a whole nation in order to attain personal gains. These individuals belong mostly to the category of capitalists--the people who only care for riches and wealth and nothing else. These people live with one objective in mind, that is wealth and riches, and they will inevitably be exploited by the oppressive and tyrannical western powers. Of course, the oppressive powers can set up an ambitious military government by plotting a coup d'etat. In due course the new hand-picked rulers or administrators, as they become more powerful, will become more and more dependent on the big powers who supported them in the first place. Consequently, they become attracted to capitalism and tend to get hooked on the pleasures and luxuries which are but the focal point of interest of this class of stooges. World history has repeatedly demonstrated that the people who are most inclined to become dependent on the arrogant and tyrannical powers of the world are mainly capitalists." As an example for the past 50 to 60 years of Persian history he cited the Pahlavi dynasty as big and powerful capitalists and property owners and stated: "The people who belong to the lower classes of society such as laborers, small businessmen and shop owners, noncommissioned officers and people of that sort cannot belong to the category of capitalists. Of course, in Islam one cannot say that capitalism has to be at all cost at the disposal and the interests of the arrogant superpowers. The best example was Khadijeh, who put all her worldly possessions at the disposal of Islam. There are many other examples that can be found when very well-to-do men have put all their worldly possessions at the service of Islam. However, in the recent history of our nation we see clearly that the people who have had their own interests and the attainment of power in mind have gravitated toward promoting the interests of the oppressive powers. These individuals or groups of people have been either big property owners or capitalists, who after establishing a firm foothold in the administration of the country, also have had help from the United States or other imperialist powers just to remain in power.

"Therefore, if we are going to be wise and learn from history, we have to positively deny the domination of capital as an agent of administration. Of course, by this is not meant an all-out denial of capitalists, rather the denial of capital as a ruling or dominating agent. In other words, we should lead our society in a direction where decisions are not made dependent on capitalism, but where our decision makers feel free of the dependencies of capitalists. In such a society the world arrogance cannot find a group of dependent capitalists to attain final domination and suzerainty over a whole nation. Clearly, in our society proper use should be made of capital investments; however, capital and not capitalists must be given authority to run the affairs of the government."

At the end of the first speech Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani stated: "We ought to consider piety and religiousness as the basis for competency of individuals in

running the affairs of the state, although we could have at our side some wealthy, pious and properly qualified individuals who can satisfy our test of competency. There is no problem with that. But the main thing is to have piety so that they cannot be persuaded by the world arrogance. Thus we will be able to put an end to the domination of the self-interest groups or individuals."

Second Speech

Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Muslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the ad-interim Friday prayers imam of Tehran yesterday in the second speech of the Friday prayers on the occasion of the anniversary of the martyrs of the glorious victory of Kheybar operations and the death of Zahra (peace be upon her), while appropriately expressing his condolences, also congratulated the martyrs' families on this glorious occasion. Likewise, he expressed his condolences on the occasion of the anniversary of the death of the great lady Zahra (peace be upon her) to the Imam of the Age, the Muslims of the world, particularly the Muslim nation of Iran and pointed to two issues of the present day by saying: "One of these two issues is the report of the UN delegation on the status of Iraqi POWs in Iran and the second issue concerns Lebanon. The report, which was prepared by representatives of the UN about the condition of Iraqi POWs in Iran, is an important issue which concerns our country and also has reverberations throughout the world. In cases like these, our people have to be alert so that they can read between the lines of the propaganda mongers of the world. The gist of the matter is that we have been chosen as the butt to receive propaganda-related pressures from all sides. The issue of the war, which is something that was imposed on us by others and has now come to haunt them, is but one part of the problem. Another issue is the problem of POWs. The proponents of this propagandistic movement was the Red Cross organization. At first we had no intention of putting this organization to shame for misrepresenting the facts and divulging the nature of their spy missions. If the officials who run this organization knew the consequences of their unwarranted act, they would have never misrepresented the facts the way they did. We all know that the members of a team of Red Cross representatives instigated a fight in the Gorgan POW camp which ended with the death of several innocent martyrs. Then the Red Cross representatives asked our security forces to interfere in the quarrel which had broken out at their instigation. Although our security forces managed to bring this sedition under control, this little skirmish left several casualties in its wake, some of whom were the followers of Saddam. Thereafter, the Red Cross blatantly announced that the Iranian security forces had killed Iraqi POWs for no reason at all. In order to propagate these lies they have used all available means at their disposal and consequently, the world arrogance also took advantage of the occasion to the best of its ability. All the time we were repudiating these lies. In order to reach their goals, the Iraqis asked

the UN to intercede. Thereafter, our Foreign Ministry made an appropriate move by announcing that we are duly prepared to let an investigative team of UN representatives inspect the Iraqi POW camps in Iran; however, first they have to investigate the condition of our POWs in Iraq and then they can come to Iran. Gradually, those who were at first opposed to our suggestion accepted the proposal. They went to Iraq and found out that our POWs are being mistreated, they were very moved by their visit. Thereafter, the Red Cross team visited Iran. We left open the option of selecting any POW camp they wanted to visit and put all the necessary means at their disposal. They were given complete freedom to contact any and all the Iraqi POWs, and as a matter of fact, they talked to thousands of POWs in private. The team was given the opportunity to see all the accommodations which we have provided for the POWs. Particularly, they spent a lot of time in the POW camp of Gorgan. When they left they were immensely impressed by the treatment of POWs by the Islamic Republic. Nevertheless, we have at our disposal certain information which suggests that the representatives of the Red Cross did not properly report all their findings in Iran and Iraq. In due time we will divulge this information. After one month they presented a report which the United States tried to stop in the way of divulging the truth. Later on, in an 80-page report they presented some of the facts, but nothing complete at all. However, some day we will divulge all the truth. A hideous plot by the UN stated that both in Iran and in Iraq the POWs were under pressure. The UN officials stated that the Iranian POWs in Iraq are given electric shock inflicted through their wounds. Likewise, they said that the Iraqi POWs in Iran are under intense ideological and propagandistic pressures. They went so far as to say that even as far as accommodations are concerned, all the Iraqi POWs and their commanders are given equal treatment without distinction of rank. I want to know how an international forum can talk like that. Let's suppose that there is ideological pressure present in Iran, is this pressure anything similar to the physical torture which is inflicted on Iranian POWs in Iraq? Is it pressure if we put a library or similar accommodations at the disposal of the POWs?

"A book and a television set is a divine blessing to a POW, not corporal torture. Of course, many things are shown and said which our people watch or listen to on our television. If the Iraqi POWs choose not to watch such programs, they simply can turn off the set."

Furthermore, Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi-Rafsanjani said: "I announce if at this moment I enter the UN I am going to make the UN officials the butt of propaganda campaigns as they have done so with our POWs. In my opinion all this international propaganda concerning POWs is something which will have to be given proper attention and is nothing that will torture the ears of the people throughout the world, as UN officials put it. Of course, it wouldn't surprise me if such statements were made by the United States. But hearing such statements from the UN is unbelievable. You must be very unfair in your justification regarding such an issue to make such statements. Notwithstanding, we are satis-

fied to a certain extent with whatever facts the UN has announced in its report, albeit world mass media does not report all the facts. They have announced that according to the UN report, both Iran and Iraq torture POWs and from among all the leaders of the world Mrs Thatcher has turned out to be a man! According to BBC on the basis of a UN report, there are so many anti-Iraqi reports that one can write many articles on the subject. Of course, we knew better than to pin our hopes on the UN. What we are trying to say here is that the UN is an international forum which ought to be impartial. We want to prove a point to our own people and to the people of the world. Some people are telling us to initiate a peace proposal for the war. We say that it has been six years now that we have been experiencing your propaganda campaigns. This is not a correct way to handle this situation; first you have to accept the fact that the Ba'thist regime of Iraq is the aggressor and Saddam has to go."

The temporary Friday imam of Tehran went on to add: "On the basis of some news that I have recently acquired, Brzezinski has told the Arabs(Iraqis) that you should not complain about the United States, you ought to blame yourselves who started the war and now have no way to back out. They are confessing with this statement that they started the war. If you are seeking justice or trying to be truthful, you should announce to the world that Saddam is the aggressor and also announce that those who violated the rights of others ought to be brought to trial like Hitler and his gang. This is the way to go about the fact and ending the war. Don't try to abuse the lull in the war which gave Saddam and every body else ample time to think. This is not the right way to go about this matter and say that Iraq is a strong country. We intentionally created a lull to provide an opportunity for you to try to find the truth. If we find out that our enemies are going to exploit this chance, we will do what we must do, and at that time it will be too late for you to undo the past. Nothing except our own will can interfere with the lull on the warfront. We are completely in control of our emotions. We are not war-mongers or adventurers. However, we will not let the war-mongers and the agents of international crimes who have caused so much bloodshed and destruction go unpunished--we will take vengeance."

Thereafter, Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Muslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the ad interim Friday imam of Tehran said that he had prepared a brief statement in Arabic regarding the situation in Lebanon which he would read at the completion of the second speech. Then talking about Lebanon he went on to say: "Recently, there have been some very important developments in Lebanon. All the plots and political tricks of Israel and its supporter could not save the Phalangists. The freedom fighters of Lebanon, relying on Islam, were able to bring about and prove the recent epic in Lebanon. In my opinion, this is one of the most important events in history where the Lebanese Muslims were able to throw the Israelis, the Americans, the French and the others out like dirty dogs. This is something unparalleled in history. Despite all the atrocities committed by

the Israelis in Lebanon, they forced Israel to withdraw from the occupied lands without any concessions. Recently a unit of the Israeli army rallied in Israel and demanded the withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon. They announced that they had been deceived by their commanders in occupying Lebanon. Israelis used to say before that if they left, Lebanon would lose its independence and sovereignty. Now we see that nothing happened after their withdrawal. Unfortunately, Israelis have taken some hideous measures and plotted some explosions which did not help their image at all. The incident of the car bomb in front of a mosque by Israel, which caused the martyrdom of several Muslims, makes the explosions in the American embassies in Kuwait and Beirut seem plausible. What the Israelis have done did not help them any at all except discredited them in the eyes of many people. Nobody can destroy Islamic Mojahedin (crusaders) with an explosion. At any rate, we saw what came to pass in Lebanon--we saw not only Israel, but the United States, France, England and some reactionary Arabs discredited and the losers in the long run."

Furthermore, the ad interim Friday imam of Tehran added that from the 16th of the month of Bahman /5 February 1985/ of the current year Israeli forces in Lebanon began destroying some of the hamlets while going from house to house in search of guerrillas. Even infants are not spared and they are being crushed under the heavy weight of the armored Israeli tanks. They are still continuing these crimes. Many reporters and officials of the UN have visited different areas of Lebanon and are quite aware of the facts. But now these officials have all become indifferent to the Israeli crimes in Lebanon. They carry out all these crimes with one objective in mind, that is to weaken the will of Mojahedin or lead them to despair. All this goes on while the rest of this unjust world, which claims to be proponents of human rights, does not show the slightest objection toward ever increasing crimes of Israel. Whether it be the West or the East both are wrong in showing such indifference. They should know that they are dealing with Muslims who sit in a car full of explosives and drive it against an enemy building blowing up the car, destroying the enemy and themselves and attaining martyrdom. You cannot break the will or lead to despair a people who call the name of God while attaining martyrdom. The people of the world should know that Israel today is not the only nation which has caused the destruction of southern Lebanon. If the mass media of the East, the West and other great powers had condemned these crimes of Israel, you can be sure that Israel would never have been able to carry on such atrocities alone. We also know of some Arab and Islamic nations which have remained silent all this time and they are nothing but an accomplice.

"God willing, what Lebanese Muslims went through and how they defended their country will remain as a lesson to the rest of the world."

In conclusion, Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Muslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani addressed our Muslim Lebanese brothers and sisters and other Arab speaking brothers in a speech in Arabic in which he analyzed the effects of the fight of the Muslims of southern Lebanon against the world arrogance, the atrocities committed by Israel and the defeat of the aggressors in that country.

IRAN

KHAMENE'I STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF CULTURAL PROPAGANDA ABROAD

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 3 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service—Iran's cultural representatives abroad, who are in Iran to study problems and compile their year's activities, met yesterday morning with Hojjat ol-Eslam va-ol-Moslemin Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i, President of the Republic, along with Minister of Islamic Guidance Hojjat ol-Eslam Khatami.

At this meeting the Minister of Islamic Guidance began by reporting on the aims of this seminar. Then Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i spoke, stressing the importance of cultural propaganda abroad. He said:

Cultural propaganda abroad is not only propaganda of a specific thing. It includes a number of different activities, which must be carried out as a group, rather than in haphazard fashion, because in the Islamic Republic parallel effort leading to conflicting statements is a mistake. All propaganda effort abroad must therefore take place smoothly, in concert, and with a common goal.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i added: You cultural representatives must concentrate your activity on exporting the revolution. This means reflecting the intellectual system of the Islamic revolution and creating the necessary understanding abroad. This is something to which the enemy is opposed, and which they resist. The basic fact is that if such understanding does not develop outside our country, what we want to do in the world will be impossible. We must therefore convey such understanding and culture to the world in order to export the revolution. The first step in this direction is the people must know what you are saying and what this culture is.

He added: There are two things we do not separate, the revolution and Islam, for they are not different things. Our revolution is an Islamic movement, and our Islam is a revolutionary movement. Elsewhere in his speech, the president added: One of our problems with exporting the revolution is that there are preconceptions with regard to the movement that we have started. When you speak of the Islamic revolution in the world and the attainment of Islamic values, you must see how Muslims perceive and understand our remarks. One reaction may be that of reactionary Islam, which seeks today to portray something new as Islam, with thousands of tricks and hypocrisy. This is an Islam with no sensitivity to the powers of East and West, and the idolaters. It is an Islam which is being proclaimed in such places as Saudi Arabia, and you cultural representatives abroad must be alert to such dangerous processes.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i added: Another preconception is this hybrid Islam, which adopts things as Islamic from other sources. Such practices form an intellectual Islam, which unfortunately exists and has existed in Egypt, on the subcontinent, and in Iran itself.

Even in our own society, we must be on the alert for another 20 years lest such a hybrid Islam gain influence.

In today's world an untried intellectual movement derived from hybrid Islam exists, which even mixes at times with reactionary Islam and has a new and liberal appearance, and is actually somewhere between hybrid and reactionary Islam.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i stressed adherence to the pure and genuine Islam upon which our revolution was founded and recommended its advertisement and propagation. He said: One must note that a characteristic of Islam is that it cannot be realized without the establishment of a system. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran is a text that may be cited and used as an authority and an Islamic criterion to be presented to the world and for promoting the Islamic revolution. The ideas of martyr Motahhari are the purest and soundest ideas, which must be used for intellectual propaganda.

The president added: The method of operation is also an important subject of discussion. Its delicacy must not be ignored, and as they improve their thoughts on Islam, cultural representatives must avoid haphazardness and confusion in their contacts.

In another portion of his talk, Hojjat ol-Eslam Khamene'i discussed the necessity for harmony between the country's cultural and political representatives. He said: Your cultural work must be firmly based in the political groundwork laid by the representatives of the Foreign Ministry, and it must not contradict the Foreign Ministry's positions.

In conclusion, the president said: An important matter which must receive attention is placing a value on the Persian language. As important as Arabic is, and even the Constitution refers to its importance, at the present time the Persian language is the language of our revolution. Someone who has learned this language can gain an awareness of the intellectual and cultural written works of our revolution. It is therefore a priority to teach 'His language, especially in the Eastern countries and on the Indian subcontinent.

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CSO: 4640/479

IRAN

FIFTEEN BILLION RIALS FOR WAR RELATED MATTERS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Feb 85 p 2

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service—The Majlis met yesterday morning. After readings from the glorious words of God and comments from Majlis deputies to the country's executive officials, discussion and study were conducted concerning proposals from the deputies concerning the components of the articles of the 1364 [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] Budget Bill.

Initially, proposals were presented concerning Article Three of the Budget Bill, which were left over from the previous session. Movahhedi Savoji proposed an amendment to Article Three reducing credit allocated in Paragraph J of Article Three by four billion rials, and adding it to line three of Paragraph B of Article Four as credit for the seven-person delegations.

Latif Sefri and Pur-Salari spoke against and for the proposal. Ha'erizadeh, a Budget Commission expert, commented and opposed this proposal.

Movahhedi Savoji's proposal was then put to a vote and rejected.

Abu ol-Qasem Vafi then proposed amending Article Three so that 10 billion rials of the credit in Paragraph J of this article would be allocated exclusively to the rural areas for creating production units and revitalizing rural industries.

Hasan Mahluji and Movahhedi Savoji against and for the proposal and an expert from the commission and the Ministry of the Reconstruction Crusade gave his views on the proposal.

The proposal was then put to a vote and passed.

Then Fuad Karimi and several other deputies proposed an amendment to this article allocating 10 billion rials in credit from Article Three to war-stricken provinces, five billion rials to other provinces where war refugees are living, except for Tehran Province, exclusively for employing war victims. Centers for expanding production and development services would be responsible for cooperating with the War Refugees Foundation in this matter.

Executive guidelines for this paragraph have been drawn up at the suggestion of the Ministry of the Interior and approved by the Council of Ministers.

Speaking in opposition to the proposal, Movahhedi Savoji said: This proposal has many problems. If 15 billion rials of the funds in this article, which total 40 billion rials, are spent solely on war victims, nothing will be left of the credit funds in Article Three.

Speaking for the proposal, Latif Sefri said: The government of the Islamic republic has made all the necessary preparations for the welfare of war victims, and this proposal is not charity for the war victims. Many of them are doing production work in their own cities, and this work has great effects on the activities of war victims.

An expert from the Plan and Budget Commission discussed this proposal. He said: 550 million tomans have been added to the funds for war victims, and such a proposal was made yesterday by the Commission on Revolutionary Groups, but it was not approved. What remains of the funds in Article Three will not be sufficient credit for the various production regions and sectors.

Government representative Morteza Alviri then spoke in favor of this proposal.

The proposal to increase credit levels for war areas and victims was then put to a vote and approved.

Movahhedi Savoji then proposed an amendment to the same article deleting Paragraph Five of Article Four of this bill, which creates production units for the children of martyrs and soldiers, and adding it as a paragraph to Article Three. Fuad Karimi and Seyyed Mohammad Kiavosh spoke against and for the proposal. An expert from the commission and a government representative spoke on the subject and opposed the proposal.

The proposal was then put to a vote and rejected.

Enactment of Proposal for Paragraph H Article Three

Dr Rah-Chamani and Latif Sefri then proposed an amendment to Paragraph H of this bill allocating funds to those groups who are willing to move to the rural areas and cities from the provincial centers and willing to commit to a ten-year stay.

Kamal ol-Din Nikrush and Latif Sefri spoke against and for the proposal, and a commission expert gave comments.

The proposal was then put to a vote and passed.

Fuad Karimi then proposed eliminating the last section of Paragraph B of Article Four, which pertains to all the cooperative companies affiliated with the centers for spreading production and development services, and says that after they have paid off their loans they may break their affiliation with the centers.

Opposing and favoring this proposal were Gholamhoseyn Nadi and Shini Mostafa, each of whom gave his views on this proposal. An expert from the commission and a government representative commented on the proposal and spoke against it.

The proposal to remove the final section of Paragraph B of Article Three was then put to a vote and rejected.

The public session of the Majlis took a recess at 2:30. A detailed continuation of the public session of the Majlis will be printed in the next issue.

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CSO: 4640/479

IRAN

OFFICIAL EXPLAINS ROLE OF CULTURAL REPRESENTATIVES ABROAD

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 10 Mar 85 p 17

[Text] Officials and representatives of the Islamic republic's cultural offices abroad met yesterday afternoon with Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili, Chief of the Supreme Court, accompanied by Hojjat ol-Eslam Khatami, Minister of Islamic Guidance.

The Minister of Islamic Guidance began the meeting by introducing the representatives and reporting on the achievements and goals of the seminar for officials of the foreign cultural offices of the Islamic republic.

Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili then gave a speech in which he discussed the cultural mission of the Islamic Republic of Iran and the propagation of Islamic culture in other countries of the world. He said: Something that troubles me now is the problem of how we can introduce ourselves and our culture to the world, because the people of the world do not know Islam because of the negative propaganda of the enemies of Islam. Mistaken ideas of the Islamic republic have been implanted in the minds of the people to the effect that the Islamic republic is against technology, ideas, and intellect in today's world, when Islam is the enemy of ignorance and backwardness.

He added: Islamic culture has not been established as it should be even in Islamic societies, and even the people in our own country do not have a full, delicate, and deep understanding of the culture of Islam. You brothers and cultural representatives must now take care to understand Islam fully in order to convey an understanding of it, because you must both introduce and defend Islamic culture. For this reason, you must have a deep understanding of Islam, and you must know that to the same extent that cultural propaganda is necessary, it is also difficult, because you must introduce Islamic culture to a society which has a mistaken mental picture of Islam. If the Islamic republic cannot introduce itself to the world properly, the world will not judge it properly.

In another portion of his speech, the Chief of the Supreme Court said: An important matter to which cultural representatives of the Islamic republic must attend is finding their way into cultural environments such as universities, legal societies, and so forth, because the call from Islamic culture is extremely effective, and it can achieve one of the aims of exporting the revolution.

Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili discussed the problems that the enemies of Islam and the Islamic revolution create in order to thwart Islamic propaganda, and said: Despite all the entanglements and confrontations with the superpowers, we must advance our cultural concerns, and model ourselves after the Prophet of Islam, because the most respected Prophet gave full attention to propaganda and guidance, despite the countless wars he had with the enemies of Islam. Like the Prophet of Islam, we must pursue our goals in the midst of all the difficulties. Praise God, the progress of propaganda in the first half-decade of the revolution has been relatively good. God willing, we will be able to attain the ultimate goal and spread the rich culture of Islam throughout the world.

IRAN

MONTAZERI: SUPERPOWERS SILENCE INDICATION OF ISLAMIC REVIVAL

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 3 Mar 85 p 2

/Text/ Tehran--IRNA: According to the CENTRAL NEWS UNIT the grand Ayatollah Montazeri in a meeting with ambassadors, chargés d'affaires, and the cultural representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Arab and African countries pointed to the effects and influence of the Islamic revolution throughout the world and stated: "The Islamic revolution of Iran has sent shock waves throughout the world and has jeopardized the interests of the East and the West by awakening slumbering nations and arousing their sense of pride and dignity. Because of this, the superpowers feel frightened by Islam and we must not remain indifferent to the dangers from the East and the West."

The grand Ayatollah Montazeri went on to expand on the meetings between some Arab heads of states and the United States, the meeting between Arafat and King Hoseyn, the recent dialogue of understanding between the Soviet Union and the United States, the meeting of Israeli prime minister with the Pope and said that the colonizing powers feel frightened by the revival of Islam and the awakening of many nations, particularly some African countries.

He emphasized that the political and cultural responsibilities of our embassies abroad is one of grave consequence. Pointing to the atrocities committed by the United States of America and the Soviet Union in Lebanon and Afghanistan, he stated that the silence of international forums in the face of all these tragical events and oppressions versus the hue and cry against the Islamic revolution exactly signifies the feeling of fear the superpowers have of the revival of Islam."

Ayatollah Montazeri went on to mention the United States foreign policy and the signing of the Camp David agreement and said that the heads of some Islamic countries unfortunately participated in this criminal act and other Muslim nations did not show a decisive reaction. If the multitude of Muslim people heeded their Islamic duties, you can be sure that this plot would have been defeated. Today, the young Muslims of Lebanon, while relying on God, unity and self-sacrifice, have been able to drive Israel out of their country in disgrace. In circumstances such as these it is the duty of the Islamic world to awaken the people of the world and support this Islamic movement in southern Lebanon.

Regarding the responsibilities of the Islamic Republic's ambassadors, chargés d'affaires and cultural representatives abroad, the grand Ayatollah Montazeri emphasized that they should be the true representatives of Islam and let the voice of Islam be heard by the people throughout the world.

IRAN

RAFSANJANI: POWER MUST REMAIN WITH CLERGY

Tehran SOBH-E AZADEGAN in Persian 1 Mar 85 p 19

/Text/ Tehran--IRNA: In a meeting of instructors and the Military Training Council of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps with the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani emphasized that reliance on faith is essential in the use of a weapon and said: "Having a skill is a kind of power in itself, but this power must be put at the disposal of faithful men."

Thursday afternoon the instructors and the Military Training Council of the Islamic Revolution Guards Corps met with Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Muslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani. In this meeting, the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly indicated in a speech the fact that in the training program of the Revolution Guards Corps because of the urgent and immediate needs of the new circumstances created in the wake of the revolution we had to have the least number of skillful and trained individuals in the shortest time possible and said: "I believe that the Training Office of the Revolution Guards Corps has been quite successful in its training programs."

Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani went on to add: "The point, which has been proven to us now and we clearly saw before, was the rapid learning capability of the training forces of the Revolution Guards Corps, which has always been beyond our expectations."

He continued: "Some people may think this is all plain talk or a slogan. But the fact is that the point has been proven to us practically. In explanation of this success the important point is that your move emanates from a direction of faith. This applies to both the instructors and the trainees who have faith and believe in the truthfulness of this path. They all attend classes with one objective. In these classes the instructors no longer cling to little tricks to show their supremacy over their students, all are there to learn since this is something which is done to please God and fulfill the urgent requirements and deficiencies. This element of faith and belief is a very rewarding gift. And those who follow a path which pleases God will be stronger and more assiduous."

Mr Hashemi stated that the key to the success of our armed forces and all our revolutionary organs is faith, spirituality and our relation with God and also said: "Those who tread on God's path will never face defeat since the path of God is all but victory--each and every turn of it. With this mental attitude that God is omnipotent and it is He who has destined us to do this job since if He wanted to do it He would have the power beyond any other powers to accomplish the task. Therefore, in such predestined situation victory is certain and there will be no defeat."

Then the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly pointed to the faithful morale of the Training Guards Corps brothers and the effect of its practical results in the battlefronts and stated: "The epic of Kheybar and the emancipation of the Majnoon islands is one of the great epics of war in the history of mankind, although the mass media of the world arrogance did not decide to show this epic to the people of the world. This epic indicated in the best possible manner, the failure of sophisticated and modern armaments versus the power of faith."

While referring to the fights and struggles of the Lebanese Muslims, Mr Rafsanjani stated: "At this time Lebanon is a great scene of faithful epic warriors. A handful of oppressed Muslims of Lebanon have forced the proud Israeli army--the army which had been victorious in previous battles--to flee despicably. The Israelis who felt quite inadequate in fighting off the continuous attacks of the Muslim people of Lebanon preferred to flee abjectly. However, the Israelis with utmost cruelty on several occasions have attacked some defenseless hamlets, crushing old men, women and children under their tanks. This kind of behavior raises the question for the world as to why an army is fighting a rural and defenseless people, just for the excuse of perhaps one Muslim guerrilla who might be hiding somewhere!"

"Certainly, this is a sign of abjectness of an army. If in the past the United States of America stationed a small contingent of its navy close to the shores of a country or landed troops there, you can be sure that the defending country would be a loser in the war game. But in Lebanon the United States, France and other powerful countries were forced to flee like scared dogs on the run. The Lebanese Muslims made life so miserable for the Israelis that they had no power or desire to stay any longer."

Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani while emphasizing the point that reliance on faith is essential in the use of a weapon also stated: "The essence of learning a skill and acquiring knowledge is all well and good when there is no wickedness or impiety involved. To have a skill is tantamount to having power. But this power must be put at the disposal of faithful men. If the number of individuals who are learning a skill in the Training Corps is increased throughout our society, they could very well guarantee the safety and soundness of our society."

Furthermore, the president of the Consultative Assembly while pointing out that if our enemies knew that in each and every city and hamlet we have well-trained military personnel who stand ready to defend the religion and the country, they would never even think about attacking us also added: "If the United States or other world powers were not afraid of our military might they would have attacked us many times by now. But they know well that in case of such an assault on Iran what a graveyard will be waiting for them! At present, the epic of the Lebanese Muslims is but a shadow of the trainings which you put at their disposal and they put it to use right where it was needed."

Moreover, the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly while indicating the counterrevolutionaries and those individuals who fled the country and live in poverty abroad now also pointed to the issue of Kordestan and said: "In the past these people claimed the imminent occupation of Khuzestan, Kordestan and other provinces. Right now they have become so desperate that their leaders, in order to cut a figure, give interviews and say that the Iranian government has recently negotiated with them... I would like to tell these people that at a time when most part of Kordestan was under your occupation, because of all the crimes and oppressions which you had brought to bear upon the people under no circumstances were we ready to look at your evil face. So how do you expect us now that you are in possession of nothing to negotiate with you?"

Additionally, the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly stated: "We are ready to talk with the oppressed people of Kordestan, we will even pardon the ones who were deceived; however, the top authorities who have caused so much injustice, oppression and crimes--individuals like Saddam and his ilk have to be put on trial."

Further, Thursday afternoon Mr Zhang Jingfu, the State Councillor of the People's Republic of China and other members of his delegation in continuation of their visit to Iran met with Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Muslemin Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly. In this meeting, where Mr Aghazadeh, the deputy prime minister for executive affairs was also present, Mr Zhang Jingfu stated that Iran and China's friendship goes back 2,000 years. During these 2,000 years we do not find a turbid moment in the relations of the two countries. He went on to add: "Both Iran and China share a similar fate and our views are very close to those of the Islamic Republic leaders on international issues. Chinese officials commend Iran's political position on the Third World as well as its struggle against Eastern and Western expansionism. We praise your successes in providing welfare to your people and in increasing your production level." Furthermore, the Chinese official stated: "As a result of the endeavors by the responsible officials of the two countries, after the victory of the Islamic revolution the way was paved for establishing cultural, political and economic relations. We are trying to consider new

ways for the expansion of these ties, since our mutual cooperation could strengthen the position of the two countries in the world."

Thereafter, Mr Hashemi-Rafsanjani, the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly said that the Chinese leaders know that it is a very significant phenomenon in the world's new history to see an independent country opposing both the superpowers. Therefore, China should join the effort to create further solidarity among the Third World and oppressed nations and also strengthen the status of the nonaligned movement. We hope long strides will be taken toward the expansion of friendly ties between Iran and China. Through mutual cooperation we will be able to remove the cancerous tumors as well as imperialism's mercenary agents from the region and support those oppressed countries which are struggling to remain independent." Moreover, the president of the Islamic Consultative Assembly stated: "We should not be content with having only friendly relations with the superpowers. We should make our relations dependent on the condition that they would not keep their presence in our region, in the Indian Ocean, around China and other areas where they claim to be the rulers. We should not be satisfied to see these superpowers maintain their influence in those regions. Our relations with them should be only ceremonial. Therefore, our two nations should have close relations and try to provide for our mutual necessities ourselves instead of going to the superpowers."

Mr Hashemi also said: "At present the United States is eying the one billion dollar Chinese consumer market in order to get rid of some of its low quality merchandise. They always enter a new market with deceptive goals. Americans are not interested in an independent China. They have exactly the same attitude toward Iran and other countries in the region--always trying to make others dependent on them. Our two countries should attempt to establish expansive relations in various fields and help strengthen the nonaligned, independent and popular forces in the region. If we act seriously in this respect, the problems of other countries in the region too, would be solved."

IRAN

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY STUDENTS ISSUE RESOLUTION

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] The Imam's historic message of 22 Bahman [11 Feb] breathed new life into the Islamic revolutionary society, and especially the younger generation and the students. The credibility and capability which the students and other young and educated elements of society drew from the blessing of that man's messianic soul have prompted us to come together as young Partisans of God speaking to the Imam and work on our Islamic and revolutionary obligation.

The splendid Islamic revolution, which appeared through the grace and kindness of Almighty God, with the resolution and will of the brave and revolutionary nation, and the prophetic leadership of His Holiness Emam Khomeyni (May God Prolong His Life), is not possible without preservation of the genuine values of the revolution, and the values of Islam which are the cause of the revolution; it is not possible without working in a revolutionary way; it is not possible without protecting the revolutionary forces and the people, including the committed and revolutionary seminary students, the Muslim students, the laborers, the compassionate farmers, the businessmen, and all the guilds and toiling classes of the people; it is not possible without clinging to and adhering to the Imam's leadership and his line.

This great revolution, which is now in the threshold of its seventh year of splendor, has astonished the world with the blessedness of the name of Islam and the auspiciousness of the Imam's step, and has changed the history of the nations of the world.

Naturally, such a great revolution and divine movement cannot be housed in the dry framework of bureaucracy and lifeless administrative relations, and it cannot witness the growth of opportunist and non-revolutionary forces in its midst.

The blows against the revolution which have removed some of the committed and revolutionary forces because of the simplistic thinking of some officials and the contentedness of some others which naturally led to non-revolutionary work, have not been few in number, and will not be. This idea arose from the failure to heed the essence of the creative and revolutionary movement of orthodox Islam and a lack of confidence in the power and capability of the forces of the people and the Partisans of God. The day may even come when some will dare to speak of reconciliation with America and Westernization, and to repent of the nation's glorious struggle against world-devouring America.

We believe that the ever illuminating and historic comments of His Holiness the Imam and His Holiness Ayatollah al-'Ozma Montazeri are the only path of the revolution, and misapprehension and failure to understand deeply and apply them will cause disappointment for the people and the young revolutionary generation, and a weakening of national power. We Muslim students of the universities of Tehran announce:

1 - The mystery of the revolution's survival and the essence of this great divine movement is indeed dear Islam, which gloried in the emotional, spiritual, and intellectual tie between the leadership of His Holiness the Imam and the committed and united people, and which was able for six years to resist the crimes of the superpowers and America and the plots of its agents in the area, meaning the invasions of Zionist Saddam, after its victory over the oppressive monarchical regime, and to manage a war of the whole of Islam against the whole of infidelity.

The explanation for this is found in the demonstration by millions of people on 22 Bahman [11 Feb], which showed a part of this divine affiliation and popular participation. We believe that this great movement of the nation shows the people's firm love and belief in the genuine values and goals of the revolution. Therefore, we condemn any decision or act which causes this nation to cool or withdraw from the scene; we urge all officials to react decisively and in a revolutionary manner to His Holiness the Imam's life-giving message, relying on the powerful arm of the nation of partisans of God.

2 - Just as His Holiness the Imam said, we view the war as the primary issue, and we believe that all of society's resources and powers, especially the universities, must be placed in the service of the war. We therefore expect that research in the university will focus on the war at this time, and that the necessary administrative, educational, and research facilities will be made available to allow students and university people to participate in the war as much as possible, and we expect a struggle against the spirit of detachment from the war in the university, which has unfortunately gained a hold over the universities due to the conservative outlook of some university officials.

3 - The growing tendency to work according to administrative and legal regulations caused by the heedlessness, indulgence, and contentedness on the part of some officials, rejects any kind of revolutionary act and places control of affairs in the administrative and bureaucratic system inherited from the system of the idolaters. As a result, it leads to the employment of non-revolutionary forces and the non-employment of committed and revolutionary forces, endangering the revolutionary movement. We therefore call upon the Majlis, which is extracted from the deprived and oppressed nation, to try to submit serious and practical programs to strengthen the populist forces arisen from the belly of the revolution, with the benefit of His Holiness the Imam's 22 Bahman [11 Feb] message and in view of the needs and circumstances of an Islamic, revolutionary, growing country.

4 - The Great Satan, America, which has been defeated in its extensive war against the heroic nation of Iran in every political, economic, and military area, has tried a new trick, this very psychological and propaganda war to propagate trite Western culture and the spirit of consumerism, corruption, and fornication, in order to be able to draw the nation's youth, who are the true wealth of the revolution, out of this war from the peak of love, passion, and crusading down to the abyss of repentance, disgrace, and confusion and defeat the revolution. We call upon the committed clergy, who are the guarantors of the health and preservation of Islamic values, and upon aware and compassionate people in the nation not to allow this imperialist plot to find its way into the universities, the schools, the alleys, streets, offices, and markets.

5 - The Imam of the nation's decisive warning to those in charge of affairs and insiders in the country illustrates the reality of the daily-increasing and organized attrition of the forces of partisans of God and the original owners of the revolution for baseless reasons.

This is a reality which we have seen clearly over the last year or two in the country, especially in the educational centers and universities.

The heirs of the former regime and their intellectual allies, using the need for specialization, which is an undeniable reality, have begun creating an atmosphere and propagating ideas. Believing youths, most of them specialist and committed supporters of the Islamic revolution, have been removed by them on the grounds that they are hard-liners, prejudiced, unspecialized, and inexperienced, and replaced gradually by non-revolutionary, indifferent, weak-spirited, and sometimes counterrevolutionary elements.

To the acts which have removed committed, specialist, and experienced forces in the removal and installation of office holders, especially in the selection and acceptance of new students and returning a great many ousted forces, in the employment of incompetent forces, in the launching of a movement isolating the universities from the government, and in creating a suitable atmosphere for the growth of the counterrevolution, we declare that the universities are moving in a direction that not only is not in step with the Islamic revolution, but also threatens to return the universities to former times.

6 - The cultural revolution, which began with inspiration from the life-giving guidance of the Imam at the hands of the university Partisans of God with aid from the heroic nation, cannot be continued and cannot retain its proper course without implementation of the Imam's statements and views.

We believe that the general movement to relegate affairs to the barren administrative system of the past is growing here also, and although the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education lacked these responsibilities even under the former regime, the relegation of affairs to the administrative system, which is itself essentially non-revolutionary, will pave the way for the growth of opportunist elements in the universities. Naturally, without strengthening the Hezbollahi elements in the universities and the university crusades, there will be no possibility of a cultural revolution in the universities. We Muslim students of the universities therefore call upon officials and insiders in the country's cultural revolution to think seriously of a solution for this matter, and take care that cultural life is not destroyed in the bureaucratic system; they must know that after the war the universities are definitely the most important thing in the country.

7 - As we thank all those involved, the respected professors, the workers, and the committed and self-sacrificing students, who put forth their best efforts from the first reopening of the universities towards getting them into operation again, we Muslim students declare that we consider it our religiously lawful and critical responsibility to obtain knowledge and its glory. While we stress purity and specialization as two necessary elements of the country's self-sufficiency and academic and economic independence, we call upon the professors committed to the country's interests and the educational officials to strive night and day to raise the academic level of the universities and the level of their output, to fight the spirit of paper-shuffling, and to replace the spirit of paper-shuffling and the mania for specialization with a call for academic self-sufficiency.

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IRAN

JANNATI WARNS AGAINST REMOVAL OF HEZBOLLAHIS FROM UNIVERSITIES

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 5 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] KEYHAN Cultural Service—A meeting of Muslim students of Tehran universities was held at the Tehran University Mosque yesterday. It was attended by several Majlis representatives, representatives of Ayatollah Montazeri at the universities, professors and a large group of students. A speech was given by Ayatollah Jannati, member of the Guardian Council of Theologians.

Shams ol-Din Vahhabi (Shams), representative of the Student's Islamic Society, began by discussing the importance of heeding His Holiness the Imam's comments at all times and continuously. He began his talk by noting that this gathering is a cry of pain from the university, and that it must not be used as a pretext and vehicle for settling political and factional accounts. We students know that the country is at war and that the war has top priority. A revolutionary society at war has a pressing need for unity and solidarity, and it needs to avoid factionalism and divisions.

He then said: Unfortunately, the officials, the media, and especially the Voice of the Islamic Republic have been treating the Imam's messages as historical events, rather than history-making events. In the first few days the messages are delivered and then forgotten. We students, as followers of His Holiness, declare that for us the Imam's messages are more obligatory than any law. The Imam's messages are orders from the chief theologian, and must be followed.

Just as was mentioned in this message, a great danger being felt in society is the retirement of the compassionate forces and the partisans of God. We feel and proclaim the danger of the routinization of society.

One must realize that if the cries of the revolution die down and if we give the impression that everything is calm, we will lose our sensitivity. The system of former administrative organizations has imposed itself on our revolutionary society and is now pushing aside revolutionary groups, groups that which came into existence as an answer to the need of the revolution, a need that administrative organizations left over from the past cannot answer. Organizations get their power from what they accomplish, from their lustrous reports; they get power from the support of the nation and the leadership.

Shams then added: A hooliganism has gotten started, and the revolutionary groups are being accused of class prejudice and of lacking specializations. We declare that revolutionary groups must not be sacrificed to the system of groups left over from the past; if these groups are to

remain, at least do not push out the Hezbollahis. The organizations and administrations must be governed by the Partisans of God. We do not advocate non-utilization of ideologically indifferent manpower, but they must be controlled.

We believe that organizations can be brought into line with the revolution only through revolutionary solutions and the Imam's policies. The universities are in need of revolutionary change. The Supreme Cultural Revolution Council must realize that this revolutionary change can only be brought about at the hands of the revolutionary groups.

Ayatollah Jannati, member of the Guardian Council and an official in the Islamic Propaganda Organization, then gave a speech in which he discussed the necessity of observing Islamic values in a revolutionary and Islamic society. At the outset he said: Unfortunately, although all the issues and topics of Islam have been well clarified, sometimes they remain veiled and must each be discussed in speeches, books, and meetings. This necessity has increased day by day, to the point that in some respects they have summed up Islam superficially as a series of customs, practices and traditions. One of these instances is the subject of religion and politics; for opponents of Islam, and even in some clerical circles, the belief is stressed that they are separate.

Actually, when values change in a society, corruption appears, and except in Iran, this is the case in all Islamic lands, where they are redesigning Islam.

In the universities and in the seminaries, so much stress is laid on studying that no attention is paid to morality and piety. This amounts to taking away the spirit of Islam and cultivating its body.

The issues of the revolution and Islam are now the same way. Unfortunately, there are still many people who look to that day when the clergy took refuge right here in the Tehran University Mosque and the people supported them and martyred themselves for whatever they said and wanted. The traces of the warm blood of these martyrs can still be felt. These people do not think about why this blood was shed. If these same professors, this same system, and this same academic program were good and appropriate and had value, why were those youths killed, while we as Muslims do not want to see a single drop of innocent blood shed? Why did a theologian and scholar whose piety everyone acknowledges say "Go forward, and no matter how many are killed, keep going until that situation is destroyed"? These things had their reasons. This was the primer of the revolution, but we don't know why there are still a number of people who do not wish to understand the basics of the revolution. Our people still have the same desires and ideas, and stand behind them. Despite all the shortages, problems, the war, and probably the discomfort, our Muslim people still pursue the same issues.

I am sorry that the advantages of the revolution are still not understood by some, but it is unfortunate that this lack of clarity has found its way into the university, which will be a disaster. We are talking about the matter of specialization and management exceeding the bounds of established criteria. The primary value is piety, in all its dimensions. According to the dictates of the Koran, this is logical and reasonable. If those with little piety are to be employed, it does not mean that the principles of and basis of the revolution have been forgotten. We sacrificed lives that day for a government of piety and Islam, and if it is necessary we will start over. The temperament of the revolution is a healthy one, and if it is fed corrupt food, it will vomit, and these people will also be turned out. Because of the dictates of need, we make use of science, industry, and specialties, and of those who possess these things, but only so long as they do no damage to the principles and basis of the revolution. Of course, if we have a Muslim, committed professor, we will not give the job to a non-Muslim professor.

Ayatollah Jannati then addressed the audience. He said: The university has a special delicacy, which the Partisans of God must observe. As far as I know the Supreme Cultural Revolution Council has stood firm on this in order to put things in order from the standpoint of management, course content, and the image of the universities.

His Holiness the Imam's choice with regard to the chiefs of the three branches of government, the presidency of the republic, and others in the present composition of this council is so that a very strong power will exist so that no one can sabotage their work; dealing with affairs needs time. Action must be taken, and quickly, but it obviously will not be possible to achieve results quickly. You students must not be disappointed, for this throng on 22 Bahman [11 Feb] was in support of you.

He added: We are now short of professors even in the Islamic fields and the humanities. We do not have enough suitable books, but there is no choice but to make the most of these resources. We must make do and place our hopes in God. We must think of the years to come now, for we are laying a foundation. You must not be disappointed. Clearly, mistaken choices and incorrect positions will cause problems for you, but you must not falter, and you must continue to deal with issues alertly.

Continuing, the member of the Guardian Council of Theologians then said: One of the problems in the universities is the multiplicity of centers of power. The Supreme Cultural Revolution Council must see to this problem and guide it towards centralization at a single competent location.

My advice to the Hezbollahis is to observe restrictions in all areas. When we place value on piety, piety must govern our entire being. You must observe boundaries. Try to resolve existing differences and to prevent new differences from arising. You must know that they cannot fight the Partisans of God, because the Imam, who is at the pinnacle of power, is the most partisan to God of all, and then the chiefs of the three powers and the people are all partisans of God.

After Ayatollah Jannati's talk, a statement was read from the central office of the university crusade, as well as this gathering's resolution.

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IRAN

WORKERS SAID WILLING TO PURCHASE COMPANIES STOCKS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 28 Feb 85 p 3

[Text] KEYHAN Political Service—A national rally on worker participation in industry was held yesterday afternoon at the 12,000-seat Freedom Assembly stadium. It was attended by Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili, Chief of the Supreme Court, Hojjat ol-Eslam Karubi, supervisor and Imam's representative in the Martyr Foundation, a group of Majlis representatives, several ministers, and around 15,000 workers from various factories.

Our correspondent reports that this gathering, which was given an outstanding reception by the Muslim workers of our country, began with readings from the glorious words of God. Then, after those present chanted revolutionary slogans, Hoseyn Kamali, Majlis representative for the people of Tehran, gave a speech. He discussed the government's goals in offering and selling factory shares to workers. He said: If we believe in industrial independence, and if we believe that we are an independent country, we must realize that our country will grow and we will reach industrial maturity when the workers are corporate participants in the factories.

According to this report, Abol-Qasem Sarhaddizadeh, Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, who was given protection and support by the attending workers, gave a speech in which he praised and greeted the Imam of the nation, the martyrs, and the combatants at the fronts of the imposed war and discussed the ups and downs of this period. He said: After the victory of the revolution, the flight of the dependent capitalists, and the stagnation of the economy, it was these workers who turned the wheels of industry. Without any kind of foreign assistance and with no expectations, they gave a teeth-shattering answer to world imperialism, which imagined that it could bring the revolution to its knees by creating economic hardships and perpetrating plots. These same workers proved that they can come to the revolution's aid at any time and for any purpose.

The Minister of Labor mentioned the presence of the workers in various social and political arenas, and especially at the fronts of the imposed war, and he praised the great efforts made by the working classes in the trenches of production and war against the enemies of the revolution. He said: Just as our workers were present in all the arenas of the revolution, and defended this revolution's values and priorities with their property and their lives and continue to do so, it is natural that they will come to the fore in this important and great matter, and that they will work towards turning production and industrial units over to deprived and oppressed people, as requested by the Imam of the nation and the country's other compassionate officials.

He added: The idea that workers cannot manage the factories, that they will not be capable of doing this, is wrong. If we consider more carefully, we will realize that throughout the past these same workers have been able work actively in the production and industrial centers, and that they

had a share in practice in the operation of many factories. On the other hand, how can we accept the idea that people who stood firm and resisted under the most difficult circumstances and with a minimum of resources, and in the chaos of the early revolution at that, which was brought about by groups supposedly supporting the workers in the factories, and prevented work from stopping, are today incapable of managing a factory? Therefore, the transfer of factory shares to workers, and their participation in these important affairs not only will not create a problem for the country in the future, but for many reasons it will have positive and significant effects for the advancement of industries and achieving the country's industrial independence.

In explaining the project for selling factory stocks to workers, the Minister of Labor listed the elimination of the filthy plots of the counterrevolutionary elements in the production and industrial units, and improvement of the quality of manufactured goods as some of the positive results. He announced to workers and concerned officials that steps must be taken as soon as possible to carry out this revolutionary project, which gives top priority to the toiling and deprived working classes.

Hojjat ol-Eslam Karubi's Remarks

Our correspondent reports that after the talk by the Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, Hojjat ol-Eslam va-ol-Moslemin Karubi, the Imam's representative in the Martyr Foundation and Majlis representative for the people of Tehran, gave a speech in which he offered congratulations for this rally, whose objective was to gather the views and suggestions of workers with regard to the project to sell shares in factories and the private sector to workers. He discussed the attainments of the Islamic revolution, the presence of the deprived and oppressed in the revolutionary arena, the daily-increasing plots of world imperialism, and the role of the working and agricultural classes in the evolution of the Islamic revolution.

The Imam's representative in the Martyr Foundation discussed the responsibilities of the people and the revolution to each other. He said: This revolution belongs to the people and the masses of society, the deprived, suffering and loyal people, who have given unstintingly of their support and bravery for the revolution every moment, both before and after its victory, and today, six years after the triumph of the revolution, they are still actively present in the arenas and corners of the revolution. A living manifestation of this was the march of 22 Bahman [11 Feb]. He added: If we want the people to be on the scene, and to protect the revolution with all their being, the foundations of the revolution must be strengthened. The most important responsibility in all this is that we pay a greater price to those who own this revolution. The people revolted for God, for Islam, to achieve a government of God and to establish Islamic justice and fairness on the basis of their faith and their belief in revelation, not for their stomachs. The people know that this very Islam that they made revolution for will do the best job of managing affairs in both this world and the next. These people have a full understanding of the revolution and Islam; they know that no group in the world can compete with Islam, and there was no faith comparable to Islam before Islam came.

In another portion of his talk, Hojjat ol-Eslam Karubi discussed the influence of some exiled capitalists within the country, and called for the rejection of their illegal money, as well as the general probability of a new economic embargo. He said: Just as the revolution calls for the continuous presence of the people on the scene and the people are devoting themselves heart and soul to this work, the people also have expectations of the revolution, the officials, the Majlis, and the government. They want the roots of the previous regime's corruption and sin removed as much as possible. With regard to this, I wish to warn the representatives and all authorities and officials, and I call upon them put a stop to such processes through decisive dealings.

In conclusion, the Imam's representative in the Martyr Foundation expressed his support for the transfer of industrial shares to workers and enumerated the positive and constructive effects of this projects for the expansion of the country's industrial and production activities, and wished success for those in charge of carrying it out.

Supreme Court Chief Speaks

In continuing his report on these ceremonies, our correspondent adds: The next speech was given by Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili, Chief of the Supreme Court, who ascended the rostrum amidst the resounding chanting of the Partisans of God workers and began his talk with greetings and prayers for the Imam of the nation and the capable combatants of Islam.

Expressing his happiness at meeting with the workers, the Supreme Court Chief discussed the various phases of the triumph of the Islamic revolution and the role of the deprived and oppressed classes in its continuation. He said: Before victory, during victory, and afterwards, the heavy burden of the revolution has been on the shoulders of the deprived and oppressed, who were at the scene wholeheartedly and sincerely, placing everything they had on the altar of devotion before God, as did Abraham and Hoseyn. It is not without cause that we see today that the imperialist powers have been forced to withdraw before this revolution and to give us a green light, despite all their military, political, and economic resources, and to offer to shake our hands.

With regard to this matter he said: British imperialism, despite all laws and international standards, waited six years to deliver six ships sold to Iran, but today they are delivering those same ships to us with special ceremonies. France and America have also extended their hands to us in the same way, but this nation says that a hand that has been raised to God will not shake the hand of East or West, and that we cannot establish contact with such governments.

The Chief of the Supreme Court then referred to the great success of the Islamic Revolution politically, economically, culturally, and socially, saying that these successes are indebted to the efforts and sacrifices of the deprived and oppressed classes, including the toiling working class. He said: A great many social tasks are on the shoulders of you workers, and we are expecting to achieve full industrial independence one day as a result of your uprising and your efforts, and we will no longer need to import raw materials. For this we first place our hope in God, and then our hopes are with you hard-working workers. You must take long and manly strides in this matter and enter the field and save us from dependence and consumption. We will be watching the efforts of you workers until our companies and industries grow beyond the status of assemblers of foreign-made components and we find independence for ourselves in the world in this respect also.

Continuing his remarks, Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili discussed the matter of the flight of capitalists from the country early in the revolution and the difficulties and problems of production and industrial units at that time. Praising the efforts and pains of workers with regard to the resolution of malfunctions during that period, he said: We know that you workers have other problems besides the ones that inevitably go with your work; in this sensitive period, however, it is our duty to be tolerant in order to resolve these difficulties. You have your responsibilities, and we have ours as well. Your responsibility today is the very one that you are fulfilling: to work sincerely, to be on the job, to be innovative, to put forth effort and not call attention to yourselves. This is your responsibility, and the government and the officials in the face of all this sacrifice, honesty, and sincerity also feel responsibility.

He added: The government and every official and office-holder are today at your service.

Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili then welcomed the project to sell factory shares to workers. He said:

Now that the toiling government has decided to turn industries over to the people, who among the people are better than the workers themselves, who labor and perspire? When the workers consider themselves participants in the factory, they will realize that they will not be exploited, and that no one will profit from their labor. What is better than this? This is an Islamic, religiously lawful, revolutionary idea, which the Constitution has put forth in Article 43, Paragraph Two. You must know that the the Islamic government of the revolution is thinking of you workers. Of course, this step should have been taken several years ago, but when the revolution occurred, did the enemy give us a day of peace to sit and work out our problems? Even so, this is a very great and good step, which of course requires planning, thought, and study.

The Chief of the Supreme Court said: Under the system of the Islamic republic, the work, housing, and income situation of every individual must be stipulated, and as long as we cannot meet these needs in industry, agriculture, and elsewhere as Islam demands, we will not be able to meet Islamic goals in the true sense. Now that you are wholly and sincerely in the service of the revolution, the revolution must also serve you.

If this task is completed and the results obtained, its most important fruit will be that the enemy is disarmed. As long as we breathe and stand, the enemy will not tire of activity and strikes, and will continue to spread poison among the people through his infiltrating agents. The important thing is that before the enemy attacks us through the worker, we must thwart his very plots.

Ayatollah Musavi Ardebili said: I ask you today, where does it say in the Koran that a laborer must be paid in wages? Who said that a laborer must not have a share in the factory, and profit from his own labor? What is wrong with worker who has worked in this country, along with perhaps two or three generations of his family, having peace of mind with regard to housing and job security? Not only does this not contradict Islam, Islamic or secular law, but it is a religiously lawful, revolutionary, and proper plan, which will also lead to industrial independence and destroy the enemy's hopes of carrying out plots in the area of labor. I am prepared to take on the religious legal responsibility of it, and to speak in defense of it. I must say, however, that God forbid that this talk should raise the hopes of the brother and sister laborers. This country belongs to you brothers and sisters. If we become rich, you will benefit from its blessings also. Enemy elements sometimes spread poison among the workers. If your minds are to be put at ease with regard to housing and the necessities of life, and if you are to have shares in the factories, know that you will get your share and the enemy cannot do anything.

Let our enemies know that the level of our people's awareness today cannot be compared with that of the past. Our worker of today is not the worker of yesterday, and just as plots have been thwarted up until now, they will continue to be thwarted in the future.

Worker's Hall Statement

Our correspondent reports that at the conclusion of this rally a statement was issued by the Worker's Hall which was approved by the workers. One portion of the statement reads:

The days which we are quickly putting behind us are a fateful time, and the sensitive point which could give comfort to the enemy if ignored is the fact that our sensitivity to the participation of our society, especially on the part of our dear workers must be taken seriously and with gravity. This sensitivity must be maintained until permanent results are obtained by you dear participants in this spectacular rally, and all the country's laborers and men of government.

Another portion of the statement discussed the reasons for holding the rally. It said:

On 22 Bahman [11 Feb] of this year, his Holiness the Imam spoke against a trend towards government ownership in affairs, and spoke in favor of expanding the private sector to the classes arisen from the belly of deprivation. He advised that "freedom in the private sector should be such that work is done to benefit deprived and oppressed people as much as possible; it should not be as in the past, where a group of godless people had control over all the people's commercial and financial affairs." Likewise, what we have to say, on the basis of His Holiness the Imam's comments about turning industry over to the private sector, is God forbid that a new opportunity should appear for the invasion of capital whose legality is questionable, instead of an orderly and proper rotation of capital. Therefore, just as we have repeatedly and clearly called for the implementation of Article 49 of the Constitution, in this particular case and at this special point in time, it is necessary that we at least establish criteria on the basis of Article 49 for capital that is to enter the roulette wheel of industry, in order to completely eliminate the possibility of a fistful of illegal capital dominating the country's industry.

The respected officials of the government of the Islamic republic also know that the miniscule wages of the laborer are not sufficient to bear the heavy burden of inflation and back-breaking prices, much less to save money to buy shares.

Planning must be therefore be done in such a way in the matter of transferring shares and worker participation in factory ownership so that workers can participate precisely in the ownership of production units with their miniscule wages.

Another portion of the statement says:

If the law of corporate participation, which was imperfectly implemented in some factories under the former regime, is to be continued and fully implemented, it is necessary here that we thank the Finance Organization for Spreading Ownership of Production Units for following up on matters, and that we call upon it to continue its work decisively in the matter of transferring shares and stipulating their responsibilities. The government's supervision of industry must necessarily continue in order to prevent the disorder of abuses, crises, plots, and opportunism.

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IRAN

PROVISIONS ANNOUNCED FOR OVERSEAS TRAVELS FOR PATIENTS

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 6 Mar 85 p 3

[Text] Dr Seyyed Hoseyn Fakhr, General Manager of Narcotics and Chief of the Ministry of Health's Supreme Medical Council, gave KEYHAN an exclusive interview in which he answered questions concerning the stages of acceptance of patients requiring treatment abroad by the Supreme Medical Council, this council's future projects and plans, and the procedure for shipping out physicians requiring treatment abroad.

He began by discussing the stages in accepting patients requiring treatment abroad. He said: The issuance of authorization for those requiring treatment abroad is actually based on rules and regulations which are carried out by this council, because foreign exchange available to the Islamic Republic of Iran is mainly derived from oil sales, and its use must also be a public matter. On this basis, private use of this currency can take place in accordance with extremely restrictive regulations.

He added: The regulations on the basis of which the council grants authorization for the departure of those requiring treatment abroad are first that there be a positive determination of decisive treatment for the patient abroad, and secondly that the type of treatment is suitable for him. If such a patient requests travel abroad for treatment, after study by the specialist commissions on the Supreme Medical Council he will be given approval, and his expenses will be paid as well.

He added: Those who have been denied authorization to travel abroad for medical treatment by the Supreme Medical Council may submit a medical document certifying (1) the type of illness, (2) the specific treatment of the patient, (3) the reason the patient cannot be treated domestically, and (4) the reason the treatment can be done easily abroad to this council. The council will submit the certification to its specialist commissions for reconsideration and a final answer.

Dr Fakhr discussed the certification patients obtain from their physicians in order to obtain decisive treatment abroad. He said: Unfortunately, many of these certifications lack the necessary credibility. We have seen certifications from physicians recommending rest in a European or American treatment center because of nervousness, mental disorder, or orthopedic problems for their patients, and we believe that most of these certifications were issued by the physicians on the patient's insistence.

He added: Since many patients can be cured within the country, we ask them not to insist on going abroad for treatment. At the same time, we ask physicians to be sure that their certifications for patient travel abroad conform to medical regulations, that is that decisive treatment for the patient exist abroad.

With regard to the Supreme Medical Council's new projects, Dr Fakhr said: A new program planned by the Supreme Medical Council is for representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran abroad to supervise treatment of patients in the concerned countries. On the basis of this plan, the foreign exchange for all patients will be on deposit at the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in that country, and after identifying credible and reputable treatment centers the embassy will begin supervising the treatment procedure.

He added: This plan will solve patient problems such as lack of familiarity with the foreign environment, finding reputable treatment centers, language interpretation, patient travel to the treatment center, the procurement of suitable and inexpensive housing, as well as post-treatment difficulties, such as closing accounts with banks and withdrawing the remainder of the foreign exchange.

He also said: This program has been implemented in London, and we hope to implement it elsewhere when we obtain the views of representatives of the Islamic Republic of Iran in countries to which patients travel for treatment.

He also said: With regard to this we ask all patients and knowledgeable people to send their proposals to this council.

He said: For those patients who are sent abroad under the new program, the necessary currency will be made available to the Iranian embassy in that country at the outset, and if it is insufficient, the embassy will take steps through the patient's family and relatives.

With regard to the procedure for authorizing ailing physicians to travel abroad, Dr Fakhr said: With regard to this the council will follow its regulations, and if the physician qualifies to leave the country for treatment, he will be allowed to leave immediately. Otherwise, the council will not facilitate matters in any way for political, social, and economic groups, because this council wishes to retain its status as a medical authority.

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IRAN

CONDITIONS OF SENDING 500 COLLEGE GRADUATES ABROAD ANNOUNCED

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 10 Mar 85 p 18

[Text] KEYHAN Cultural Service—Between 1,000 and 1,500 qualified people with academic credentials of a bachelors' degree or higher will be sent abroad for further study in needed fields.

Registration for applicants begins today and will continue until the end of the current month [20 Mar].

A new method of evaluating graduate degrees from foreign universities has also been established and implemented. Student currency permits for the year 1365 [21 Mar 1986 - 20 Mar 1987], issued for one year and to be distributed within a few days, will be payable according to bank regulations beginning the first of Farvardin in the coming year [21 March 1985].

These items were announced yesterday at a press conference by Dr Mohammad Sepehri-Rad, Deputy Minister for Students in the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education.

Concerning the regulations and conditions for sending students abroad, he said: In order to raise the country's level of specialization, technology, and science, to meet the country's need for committed and specialist manpower, and to obtain the world's latest scientific expertise and innovations, this ministry plans to send a number of qualified persons abroad to study in needed fields. For this purpose, between 1,000 and 1,500 persons with academic credentials of a bachelor's degree or higher as well as current students who will graduate in the current term with a bachelor's degree or higher will be sent abroad, some at their own expense.

Those chosen to be sent must post a security bond with a bank, agree to return to the country after completing their graduate work, and to serve at a place chosen by the country for a length of time equivalent to their period of study. Since our first objective in sending these people is to procure manpower needed in the universities, after returning the individuals must serve in an urban university they have chosen. If that city does not have an institution of higher learning, there is no obstacle to their serving in other organizations. However, in view of the need of the people of the country for specialists in the medical fields, graduates from these fields must certainly choose sites for service which have universities or institutions of higher learning.

The Deputy Minister for Students then added: A number of applicants will be chosen on the basis of academic and general qualifications, and these will be given language tests. Those who pass this stage will proceed directly to obtaining admission in a needed field from an accredited university designated by the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education.

The language tests will determine if applicants have sufficient language preparation to attend class and understand the subject matter; the maximum period of time allowable in the country of destination for language study with the use of student foreign exchange is only three months. Students who are weak in this area must therefore work within the country and bring themselves up to the required level.

With regard to the method of selecting applicants, he said: After all applications are in and grouped according to grade average, field of study, and desired field of study, a group will be announced to take the language test, and qualified persons will be selected from that group after their academic and moral qualifications are ascertained. The results will be probably be announced by the end of the month of Khordad [21 May].

With regard to the applicants' status with regard to military obligation, Dr Sepehri-Rad said: On the basis of the bulletin, the registration of male applicants must not be an obstacle in this regard. We are involved in a legal discussion with the military service office. We believe that those with a military obligation may also be sent abroad for study, but the military service office takes the opposite view. Those with a military obligation may therefore register, and if the problem is solved and there is no legal obstacle, they will also be sent abroad for study.

Authorized and Needed Fields

For this group being sent abroad, students will be chosen for more than 100 fields of study at the level of bachelor's degree and higher, in the areas of medicine, agriculture, basic sciences, technology, and engineering. The names of needed fields qualifying for travel are as follows:

Medical Group

Those with medical doctorates may study the basic medical sciences, including anatomy and embryology, microbiology, the study of fungi and parasites, immunology, physiology, physiopathology, genetics, epidemiology, vital statistics, bio-physics, medical physics, nutrition, and applied medicine such as anesthesiology, pathology (especially anatomic pathology), corrective and neurosurgery, chest surgery, mouth and facial surgery, and head and neck surgery.

Those with doctorates in dental medicine may study dental materials, the pathology of mouth and dental diseases, pediatric dentistry, and mouth and facial surgery.

Those with doctorates in veterinary science may study veterinary anatomy, veterinary physiology and pharmacology, microbiology, the study of fungi and parasites, immunology, veterinary specialization in internal and infectious diseases, veterinary specialization in surgery and radiology, veterinary midwifery and natal diseases, animal husbandry breeding and nutrition, animal husbandry products quality control and hygiene, and diseases of fishes and other aquatic animals.

Those with doctorates in pharmacology may study applied, industrial, and hospital pharmacology, bio-pharmacology, pharmacology, pharmaceuticals, physical pharmacy, toxic substances, substance control, and medical chemistry.

Those with doctorates in gerontology may study rehabilitation, physical therapy, radio therapy, hygiene (general, professional, mouth, teeth, and environs), medical documents, medical technology, medical engineering, radiology and laboratory sciences (the study of parasites, the study of injuries, hematology, microbiology, the study of fungi, and immunology).

Agricultural Group

Those with bachelor's degrees and higher in any of the agricultural fields may continue their studies in one of the fields appropriate to their background such as irrigation, cultivation and modification of plants, gardening, medicinal plants, agricultural propagation, soil, animal husbandry, agricultural industries, food industries, agricultural machinery, agricultural economics and natural resources (forests and pastures, wood, paper manufacture, fisheries and aquatic animals).

Technical and Engineering Group

Those with bachelor's degrees and higher in any of the technical and engineering fields may continue their studies in one of the fields appropriate to their background such as electronics, electro-technique, chemical industries, development, mechanics, auto mechanics, materials, mining, metallurgical industries, textiles, heating installations, ceramics, metallurgy, communications, chemical engineering, nuclear engineering, petroleum and gas engineering, petrochemistry, maritime sciences and technology, and aeronautics.

Basic Sciences Group

Those with bachelor's degrees and higher in any of the basic sciences may continue their studies in one of the fields appropriate to their background such as physics, mathematics (statistics and computers), chemistry, environmental science, geology, meteorology, nuclear sciences (physics, chemistry, and radio-biology), computer programming and systems analysis, natural sciences and geophysics.

He was then asked what solution has been found to the problem of evaluating graduate degrees from foreign universities. He said: Because many of the people from institutions of higher learning abroad are unknown, the graduates from some of these institutions have problems when they return to the country, including the evaluation of their credentials. This is one of the problems left to this ministry from the previous government. The Supreme Evaluation Council of the Ministry of Culture and Higher Education decided to test such people, which was naturally difficult. The new supreme council, which was installed by Dr Fazel, the respected Minister of Culture and Higher Education, and which went to work in the month of Azar this year [22 Nov - 21 Dec 1984], made a study of the matter and prepared a new solution. On the basis of this, at the outset all of these people will be given temporary certification good for two years. They then have two options, in order to obtain permanent certification. They may either take an evaluation test according to the old system or study and take a practical test at their place of employment. For this purpose regulations have been drawn up for the various fields of study to be sent to officials at the places of employment of individuals, on the basis of which the knowledge and academic qualifications of an individual may be studied scientifically. If an individual succeeds in either of these methods of evaluation of his graduate credentials, permanent accreditation will be issued to him.

This official then discussed currency permits for students outside the country, noting the new changes in the procedures for issuing and sending them. He said: In accordance with the calculations and studies in this deputy's office, and in order to better facilitate matters for the dear students, plans have been made to issue currency permits for a year beginning next year, the first

few series of which will be announced within a few days. These permits are payable as of the first of 1364 [21 March], and the respected parents may report to the banks on their first working day in the new year and process them for the indicated amounts.

One point must be mentioned here, and that is that the issuance of permits for a year's time does not mean that the money will be sent all at once. The money will be sent in timed installments according to regulations in the banking system.

In conclusion he noted that the administration of foreign exchange in this deputy minister's office and the study of student files for the second half of the year 1363 [20 Sep 1984 - 20 Mar 1985] and the new year [21 March 1985 - 20 March 1986] needs more time. For this purpose, the staff offices in America, Canada, Germany, Austria, and Sweden are closed from 20 Esfand [11 March] to the end of the current year [20 March], and parents are asked not report during this period.

In conclusion it is necessary to note that the registration form for the program to send students abroad has been published in one of today's morning newspapers.

9310

CSO: 4640/483

IRAN

ARTICLE SURVEYS POLITICO-ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH TURKEY

Tehran KEYHAN in Persian 6 Mar 85 p 16

[Excerpts] Relations Between Iran and Turkey Since the Islamic Revolution of Iran—As popular opposition to the shah spread, Iranian students in Turkey were staging extensive demonstrations against the Turkish government. In order to mock them, the shah exported 1.5 million tons of crude and stove oil to Turkey. Let it not be forgotten that in the month of Tir 1358 [22 June – 22 July 1979] (the year of massive demonstrations in Iran) a new agreement was signed between Turkey and Iran. The Turkish coup d'etat which was carried out by General Kenan Evren was actually a calculated measure to confront the Iranian revolution; it may be said that Turkey was the first country to make a full effort to destroy the Islamic revolution. Although America chose Iraq to fight the Iranian revolution militarily, this choice was made for numerous reasons, the most important of which was probably Turkish internal unrest, instability, and inefficiency. Moreover, with a Turkish attack on Iran the area's advanced countries would have hurried to Iran's aid. In any case, the Iranian revolution was not something that Turkey could take lightly. It therefore undertook various activities. On the one hand, in order to protect its economic interests, it announced that "Turkey is prepared to give aid to Iran as needed." On the other hand, it put forth every effort in order to beat down and prevent the export of the revolution, so that the ASSOCIATED PRESS announced: The prime minister of Turkey gave a stern warning to elements wishing to divide Turkey and to instigate such as those in Iran in Turkey. At the time of the occupation of the spy nest, Prime Minister Demirel of Turkey, in the first official reaction against Iran and in support of America, condemned the occupation of the spy nest.

As anti-American demonstrations reached a peak in Turkey, Turkey demonstrated greater submission to America. Not only did it affirm its adherence to the NATO pact and make every effort to join the European Common Market, but it mercilessly beat down the free people of Turkey, so that there was rarely a time when the news agencies did not file reports of harsh and dictatorial measures in Turkey. UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL reported that armed Turks backed by the military clashed with thousands of leftist demonstrators in Ankara and Istanbul, with many killed and wounded. Over a two-year period, 2,500 people were killed during Turkey's political crises. Since the Turkish economy was in a state of crisis, UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL reported that Turkey requested 452 million dollars in aid from America. In order to save its bankrupt economy, despite the American economic embargo of Iran, Turkey announced that it would not participate in the economic embargo of Iran, and since this was agreed to by America, America continued military and economic aid to Turkey. America took the view that Turkey could take advantage of the economic embargo of Iran and help its ailing economy by expanding economic exchanges. With 20 percent of the Turkish population unemployed due to a reduced budget and balance of payments and inflation of 100 percent, Turkey could gain political stability by improving its economy.

In any case, the purpose of this discussion has been to show that Turkey's desire to expand relations with Iran was not based on any concomitant agreement with the Iranian revolution, but was for the purpose of saving Turkey's bankrupt economy. What intense economic crisis and suppression of the Turkish people could drive Turkey towards a situation like Iran, and to cause damage to America's military bases and interests there? Turkey is presently full of American bases and can be used as a platform for measures against movements throughout the area. Moreover, in the event of a threat Turkey will be used as a base for transporting hundreds of thousands of special forces to Middle Eastern oil reserves.

America has also always sought to make Turkey into a complete spy center for the area.

Despite all this, the struggle of the masses, although lethargic at times, has never stopped, and the people's movements of Turkey continue their efforts. Domestic crises reached such a peak that the Turkish government threatened to fire 11,000 workers; 1,400 people were killed and conditions in Turkey were unstable. Throughout this period Turkey aided the Iranian counterrevolutionaries. It gave asylum to fleeing counterrevolutionary officers, and it even detained Iranian students in Turkey for protesting the granting of asylum to two fleeing officers.

Even as it was expanding commercial ties with Iran, Turkey was fortifying its border with Iran so that in Esfand of 1359 [20 February - 20 March 1981] the Iranian government was forced to ask officially for an explanation.

With increased instability and the government's inability to protect America's interests completely, in Shahrivar of 1360 [23 August - 22 September] the American coup d'etat of General Evren against his colleagues took place; its first objective was to wage a more serious and more complex fight against the Islamic revolution of Iran and to prevent its spread, because the Turkish regime is afraid of Islam and Muslims. For the same reason, a significant number of aware and combative Turkish Muslims were and are in prison.

The American State Department officially confirmed Evren's American sympathies, and said that the coup d'etat was anticipated and that America had prior information on it. Three months later, according to AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE, after talks had been held between the American State Department and Turkey, Turkey was armed quickly and more heavily than before. At the same time, Evren called for expanded military cooperation between Turkey and Pakistan. The primary goal was to surround Iran on two sides by regimes sympathetic to America. It was in pursuit of this same policy that, according to a report in the WALL STREET JOURNAL, America agreed to a military budget for Turkey.

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE then released this item: The American embassy in Ankara has announced that an agreement has been signed between America and Turkey on the basis of which at some Turkish bases military equipment will be stored that might be used by NATO. Turkey has thus become a storehouse for Western weapons and ammunition, and a base for American military operations.

Turkey was not satisfied with the economic and military dimensions; it fought Islam and the Islamic revolution on the cultural and ideological levels as well. It put so much energy into this struggle that it publicly set out to defeat Islamic law. The newspaper FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU reported: At noon during the month of Ramazan the president of the military government, who was speaking in Erzerum, cut short his speech and took a drink of water. He then explained: I am a truthful man, and in doing this I am showing that I do not keep the fast!

In perceiving the behavior and the measures taken by the Turkish government, one can clearly conclude that Turkey fights Islam, Iran, the Islamic revolution, and the people's struggles in its own country at all levels, and that it serves the strategy of America in the area with all its might.

Despite this, Iranian officials take an indulgent view of realities in Turkey, and have no hesitation about expanding political and economic relations with Turkey. In the month of Esfand 1360 [20 February – 20 March 1982] the Iranian Minister of Commerce was invited to Turkey, and in the month of Farvardin 1361 [21 March – April 20 1982] a political and commercial protocol was signed between Iran and Turkey, and one of the ministers announced that the volume of trade between the two countries in the next year will be more than 1.8 billion dollars, which will be several times greater than the figure for the year 1358 [21 March 1979 – 20 March 1980].

A one-billion dollar agreement for a period of one year was signed in Ankara.

Besides the fact that this economic policy cannot encompass Iran's interests, there are also many dangers ideologically and politically. Is it not true that Turkish Muslim crusaders are being tortured in Turkish prisons? Is it not true that the trials of 50,000 persons have begun in Turkey in a wave of oppression? Is it not true that Turkey is trying to build 957 new non-military prisons in the next three years, in order to lock up Muslim combatants? If economic relations between Iran and Turkey can strengthen Iran and Turkey's economic foundations, what ideological justification is there for expanding these relations?

Despite all this, Turkey and its press have always attacked the Islamic revolution of Iran venomously, to the point that the Iranian Speaker of the Majlis officially declared his severe and vigorous criticism of Turkey.

Despite the Majlis Speaker's comments, the positions that Turkey and its press have taken against the Islamic revolution of Iran are not surprising.

In any case, this policy has been carried to the point that the Ministry of Commerce predicted that the quantity of goods traded between Iran and Turkey would exceed one billion dollars, and soon thereafter the Minister of Heavy Industry went to Ankara with an 18-person delegation to talk to Turkish officials. In the month of Ordibehesht of the year 1362 [21 April – 21 May 1983] the Minister of Heavy Industry announced that the volume of trade between Iran and Turkey would reach 2.5 billion dollars in the year 1983. A year later a 53-person commercial delegation led by a Turkish minister of state came to Tehran, and several days later the Prime Minister announced that in his talks with the prime minister and other Turkish officials, major economic agreements had been reached. Several months later the prime minister of Iran went to Turkey and there were no reports in the press, which is completely natural since Turkey is an American client state. What is not natural is the continuation and expansion of Iran's relations with Turkey. Is the essence of the Turkish government really hidden from anyone? Although several reasons for justifying expanded relations between Iran and Turkey are given, we will discuss three logical justifications in detail.

A – Iran wants to expand trade with Islamic countries, and Turkey is one of these countries. The perfectly clear answer to this is that expanded relations with Turkey are not only not to the advantage of the Turkish Muslims, but they help stabilize a government that fights Islam and Muslims with all its being. If the fact of their being Muslim were sufficient justification for cooperation with the shah and Saddam, then it would also justify cooperation with Turkish leaders.

B - Iran wants to expand its relations with Third World countries, and Turkey is one of those countries. Here it can easily be said that although Turkey, like Iraq, is a part of the Third World, in practice it is one of America's best agents. Economically, it is a part of the European Common Market, rather than the Third World. American capitalists, with 543 million Turkish liras invested, are the top investment group in Turkey; 20 percent of Turkey's capital is American; 15 percent of it is French; 14 percent of it is Swiss; 13 percent of it is German, and so forth. These are actually international corporations who use Turkish middlemen to sell their cheapest goods at high prices.

J - Because of the imposed war with Iraq we are obliged to expand economic relations with Turkey. As it happens, historical experience has shown that the best social conditions for establishing economic relations on a proper foundation, whether domestically or abroad, are brought about in time of war. If commercial activities with Turkey are to become so strong because of Saddam's defeat that they will contribute significantly to Turkey's political stabilization, it may be said that after Saddam's defeat, we will have grown another Saddam in the area.

If we agree that every dollar transferred to Turkey has been previously earmarked for American strategy in the area, there is no logical justification for relations with Turkey. Actually, if a military war is being waged on Iran through Iraq, an economic war is also being waged through Turkey.

It must be stressed that there is never any obstacle to relations which serve Iran's interests and the slogan neither East nor West. What is necessary is to organize Iran's international relations in such a way that they accommodate the aspirations of the Islamic revolution of Iran, and this in itself depends on all the other principles of the revolution.

9310

CSO: 4640/486

IRAN

BRIEFS

IMPORT-EXPORT STATISTICS--Tehran, March 30, IRNA -- During the Iranian month of Bahman (Jan 21-Feb 19, 85) a total of 1,344,777 tons of goods arrived at Iran's customs offices, said the office in a statement issued here Saturday. In terms of weight of the goods imported, there was a decrease of 22.88 percent as compared to the same period last year. During the said period, 15,491 tons of non-oil goods worth more than 2.320 billion rials (about \$24 million) were exported, which showed a decrease of 9.5 percent in terms of weight and an increase of 31.2 percent in terms of value, compared to the corresponding period last year. Meanwhile in the said period, some 123,993 people arrived in the country of whom 39,740 were non-Iranians, and 132,104 left the country, 39,184 of them foreigners. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1755 GMT 30 Mar 85 LD]

CSO: 4600/363

PAKISTAN

CANADA TO ASSIST IN OFFSHORE DRILLING

GF300630 Karachi DAWN in English 27 Mar 85 p 1

[From the Economic and Business Review Supplement]

[Text] Islamabad, March 26--A Petro Canadian delegation, led by Mr Peter Towe, chairman of Petro Canada International Assistance Corporation, [PCIAC] held a wrap-up meeting in the Ministry of Petroleum here yesterday to discuss the proposal for undertaking dollar 30 million oil and gas offshore exploration aid project in Pakistan.

The project includes the drilling of a 3,500 meter exploratory offshore well, some 160 kilometer south of Karachi, technical assistance and possible seismic programme for delineating new structures and will be financed through Canadian Government Development Assistance Funding. The exploration, to be carried out by the Canadian company on the basis of tendering profits, is expected to begin this summer.

Since Pakistan remains highly dependent on imported oil, which amount to almost one half of our total export earnings, with requirements of approximately 120,000 b/d [barrels per day], while domestic production is currently about 28,000 b/d, the government has been trying to attract the foreign oil companies to carry out the exploratory activity in the offshore areas.

A number of promising drillable structures have been delineated, as a result of previous seismic surveys in offshore areas and the Petro-Canada International Assistance Corporation was approached to assist OGDC [Oil and Gas Development Corporation] in drilling of these structures.

A delegation led by Mr Peter M. Towe, chairman of the PCIAC visited Islamabad last year to discuss the modalities, which was followed by a technical delegation in June, last year.

The World Bank is financing a petroleum exploration promotion project to support the efforts of the oil and OGDC to intensify oil exploration and to identify oil prospective areas onshore Pakistan. Offshore exploration efforts by PCIAC will round out the World Bank project by seeking to identify potential areas promoting oil exploration in the offshore Pakistan.

A dollar 40 million agreement has recently been signed with Canada to provide assistance to OGDC for acquiring fracing equipment and technology and establishment of Oil and Gas Training Institute for training of Pakistani specialists in various oil field disciplines. The PCIAC programme will complement these onshore activities by CIDA [expansion not known], designed to improve production from existing oil and gas field and make OGDC self-reliant in oil field technology.

PCIAC was established in 1982 to provide exploration-related assistance to help oil-importing developing countries to find domestic sources of hydrocarbons. PCIAC has provided project and technical assistance to 18 developing countries using Canadian contractors and supplies.

CSO: 4600/358

U.S. VETO ON LEBANON CRITICIZED

GF270530 Lahore JANG in Urdu 15 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The U.S. Veto and the Israeli Danger"]

[Excerpts] No justiceloving power in the world can condone the U.S. veto of a resolution condemning the Zionist oppression of Muslims. The mere condemnation of the way Israel is massacring unarmed Muslims in Lebanon can never replace the need for real justice. Such resolutions are hardly noted in Israel.

However, such a resolution is indeed necessary because it can strengthen the hand of the Lebanese people now being oppressed by Israel. The Lebanese people also recall how another such resolution on Lebanon was vetoed by the United States last September. The Lebanese had at that time also shown a strong reaction against this veto. According to the U.S. ambassador at the United Nations, Mrs Kirkpatrick, the United States would not be intimidated by such reactions.

The withdrawal of the UN forces from Lebanon can also mean that the United States would show more concern about the situation in Lebanon, especially following its veto and a troop withdrawal. A certain UN official also suggested that after the veto, it would be advisable for the United States to withdraw its soldiers from the area or at least to desist any active participation in the affair.

Israel must withdraw from Lebanon and stop its retaliatory actions against the Lebanese people. Israel should not think that its occupation of Lebanese territory can legalize its aggression and occupation. The U.S. veto has been a strong blow against peace efforts in Lebanon. It has also created more obstacles toward solving the Middle East problem.

The Arab people have the impression that the United States and Israel are one and the same thing. It seems possible that the United States is trying to help Israel create a Christian state in southern Lebanon which will be wholly dependent on Israel for its survival. Such a state will serve Israel in the same way Israel is serving the United States. The Palestinian leader Yasir 'Arafat had rightly expressed concern over a secret understanding between Israel and the United States regarding a Christian state.

The Islamic world must, by burying its differences, help Lebanon with all its resources. Israel is the enemy of every Muslim state and is following the policy of neutralizing every Muslim state one after the other. It will be very unfortunate for the Middle East states to underestimate the Israeli danger or fail to unite in the face of that danger.

CSO: 4656/105

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY ON IRAN-IRAQ WAR

GF231830 Karachi MASHRIQ in Urdu 20 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The Maniacal Gulf War"]

[Text] The recent escalation in the Iran-Iraq war is mostly due to the ruthless attacks by both sides on residential areas, commercial, and industrial centers, causing considerable loss of life and property. President General Ziaul Haq has pressed both the belligerent parties to abide by their June 1984 agreement and halt attacks on residential areas. He stressed this fact during his recent meeting with OIC Secretary-General Sharifuddin Pirzadeh saying that if they cannot stop the war at least they should abstain from attacking residential areas. He also stressed this very fact in his meeting with the Iranian deputy minister who was recently here on a visit.

The new destructive aspect of the war has also been felt by the belligerent parties. It is on this account that Iraq has asked the UN Security Council to arrange for a cease-fire and also to arrange for the withdrawal of forces from the recognised international borders of each side. The Iraqi foreign minister in his letter to the Security Council said that this was an opportune moment for settlement of the disputes between the two countries. In his letter he proposed that the Security Council issue instructions to both countries to halt the war immediately and withdraw their forces to their own side of the border. He has also proposed stationing UN observers on both sides of the border. According to one source, the Iranian regime has asked the UAE president to get Iraq to halt its attacks on Iranian residential areas.

If both countries realise the necessity of a cease-fire then they should stop escalating the war so that some arrangement for a cease-fire can be made. Iraq has superiority in the air and therefore it goes ahead with its bombing of towns in Iran. Iran on the other hand is wasting the strength of its revolutionary youth by sending them to the battlefronts. Iraq is mistaken if it thinks that it can force Iran to accept a cease-fire by attacking its residential areas. Similarly, the Iranian threat that Iraq should either lay down arms or face complete destruction does not carry any weight.

Both the countries should give up their maniacal determination to escalate the war. They should instead approach either the United Nations OIC or the non-aligned movement and abide by their peace initiatives. The UN secretary

general and the Security Council have already appealed to both parties to stop hitting residential areas. If they accept the appeal and ask for a peaceful solution of their dispute, then this world organization can do a lot for restoring peace in the region. They can also refer this dispute to the peace committee of the OIC and give it the authority to find a solution for this.

But if they continue in their illusion that they can bring the other party to its knees by causing destruction and loss of life this will be tantamount to suicide. The only wise thing for them to do is to declare a cease-fire and then refer the matter to any of the world organizations. They can thus save their country from the loss of human life and damage to property. The war has so far proved that neither of them is capable of a victory. In such circumstances the best thing for them to do is to find an honorable, just, and fair solution of their differences.

CSO: 4656/105

PAKISTAN

EARLY NEGOTIATED END TO GULF WAR URGED

GF241324 Karachi DAWN in English 21 Mar 85 p 7

[Editorial: "A War That Has Lasted Too Long"]

[Text] Periodically the Iran-Iraq war flares up to claim the world's attention before subsiding into the weary war of attrition that it has mostly been since it began 53 months ago. This time, too, the sounds of war have risen to a shrill crescendo but it is too early to say whether the old pattern will be repeated. Both armies have been locked in grim fighting on the front facing the Iraqi port city of Basra. Both have claimed casualties running into the thousands.

The Iranians have clearly advanced some distance into Iraqi territory but they have fallen short of cutting the Basra-Baghdad highway or of isolating Basra in other ways. This is the conclusion that seeps through the fog of conflicting battlefield communiques.

The Iraqis claim to have blunted the Iranian advance while the Iranians say they have achieved their "limited objectives." Meanwhile, the war in the air has given a new twist to the hostilities. Both sides have freely bombed civilian targets. Tehran has come under aerial attack while Baghdad has been rocked by powerful explosions said to have been caused by ground-to-ground missiles.

Iraq has declared Iranian air space a prohibited war zone. Iran has responded swiftly by warning that international flights throughout the Gulf would be in jeopardy if Iraq were ever to carry out its threat. If a halt is not called to this escalation, the war could swing out of control.

So far it has burnt on a low fuse, but its capacity to spread is pretty widely recognised. Last summer Iraq began to attack neutral shipping in the Gulf in what looked like a conscious bid to widen the war so that the international community could be shocked into taking urgent measures to stop it. But this hope was not realised as the conflict continued to simmer.

Iraq's interest in a cease-fire is plain. Having failed to subdue Iran it must be wishing it had never been tempted to fire the first shot. Its call to the UN Security Council to arrange a cease-fire and a monitored withdrawal of

both sides, is but one indication of its diminishing interest in continuing war. It has also sought to enlist the good offices of the Indian prime minister for the same purpose.

But till today the Iranian interest in an immediate cease-fire has been less than obvious. The leadership in Tehran has vowed not to rest till final and, in the event, absolute victory. Hopes for a negotiated settlement have foundered on the rock of this insistence. Given the balance of forces on the ground, it is difficult to imagine Iran losing the Gulf war.

From its continuation the leadership might even stand to gain something, for, there is, after all, a domestic dimension to this conflict. It has served to keep the population in a state of continual mobilisation and it has induced the people to overlook shortcomings in other spheres. But that does not mean there is not a larger price to pay. So long as the flames of war do not engulf the shaykhdoms, or lead to the closure of the Straits of Hormuz, the West is quite unmoved by the spectacle of two Muslim states fighting each other to a stand-still.

Western arms suppliers have little to lose. It also suits the Israeli purpose. So the point where this conflict loses all rational meaning is quickly reached. The urgency of seeking a negotiated end to the conflict has always been present but the chances of success have seldom looked bright. If, therefore, there is some basis to the reports that Iran has asked Shaykh Zayid of the UAE to intervene and end the war, it signifies the first glimmer of light at the end of a very long tunnel.

That being the case, it is imperative that this chance be availed of in all haste. If something emerges from this move eventually, the evidence of relief will be visible from even a greater distance.

CSO: 4600/358

PAKISTAN

MRD CITES TERMS FOR TALKS WITH REGIME

GF290910 Karachi DAWN in English 26 Mar 85 p 12

[Text] Karachi, March 26--Mr Khurshid Mahmood Kasuri, central information secretary of the defunct Tehrik-e Istiqlal, has said the MRD will not accept the offer of a dialogue with the civilian government unless a congenial atmosphere is created first with the release of all the political prisoners, resumption of political activities and the removal of restrictions on the movements of political leaders.

Mr Kasuri, currently here from Lahore on a short visit, was talking to newsmen at a local hotel on the situation arising out of the civilianisation of government, although under the martial law cover.

He, however, made it clear that the final decision about an MRD-government dialogue would rest with the MRD central committee which would have to watch the performance of the newly-elected representatives of people.

Asked how much time should be allowed for the National Assembly's performance to be judged fairly, Mr Kasuri said it should be three or four months.

The tasks which the Tehrik leader set before the parliamentarians were the "immediate" removal of martial law, revival of the 1973 Constitution in its original form, annulment of the president's power to dissolve the National Assembly and the annulment of National Security Council, as well as the provision that all amendments to presidential orders would require a prior sanction of the president.

Besides, he said, the writ jurisdiction of the high courts should be reinstated, the citizens' fundamental rights restored, the restrictions on the freedom of the press withdrawn and the stultifying atmosphere in the universities and other campuses of learning be removed.

Mr Kasuri also talked of the deteriorating economic situation as evidenced by the existing energy crisis, the declining production in factories, the slide in the value of rupee and also the rocketing prices of items of common use.

He maintained that the MRD had lent a moral content to the politics by not participating in the elections which otherwise it would have swept convincingly.

CSO: 4600/358

PAKISTAN

ZIA UL HAQ PROMISES TO LIFT MARTIAL LAW

Paris LE MONDE in French 26 Feb 85 p 6

[Article by Patrice Claude]

[Text] The president had said, before the elections, that he hoped for at least a 40-percent turnout at the polls in this election. That target was easily reached and topped, and most observers agree that the process was conducted with relative "honesty."

Six Ministers Toppled

"To the same extent that the results of the 19 December referendum were exaggerated," said one Islamabad journalist, "this election went just about the way the government hoped it would." The leading politicians in the eleven opposition parties that have joined the Movement to Restore Democracy (MRD) who were arrested or subjected to house arrest before the election, are "out of date" and "lacking in intelligence," Gen Zia had said over the week-end. One thing is certain, though: the call for a boycott of the polls they sent out fell upon a lot of deaf ears. Pakistani voters were chauffeured, fed, and plied with beverages at the expense of the candidates -- some of them extremely wealthy -- but were never physically forced to go to the polls. The 16 to 18 million citizens who did so went of their own free will. As usual, the waderas (landowners), the nawabs (petty local bosses), and the pirs (holy men) acted, in the rural zones (where about 70 percent of the electorate lives) not only as arbiters but also as the real masters of the elections.

The referendum, which was too abstract, too unfamiliar in this country, had failed to stir or involve the little people. But once they were shown real live candidates, they reacted -- without enthusiasm, since that was forbidden -- but with interest.

Six of the 11 members of Zia's cabinet (two of them his advisers) who were standing for election were defeated (three had been elected initially, without opposition), and a lot of candidates from

the small fundamentalist party, Jam'iat-e Islami , the regime's sole civilian source of political support, also bit the dust. It was as though the majority of the electorate, poised for some time somewhere between the military and the MRD on the political chessboard, had decided to send a message to Islamabad that can be summed up as follows: All right, we'll vote under these conditions, but not for you.

Early results of the election more or less confirm what was already known: the regime is not popular, but neither does it arouse open and massive rejection. The defeats sustained by some cabinet ministers did not surprise the president, either. The prime intent behind the election was not to show the popularity of the military regime, but rather to establish its credibility. "The fact that some ministers were defeated shows that Islamic voters are free," President Zia declared. First objective taken.

Opposition Trapped

By refusing to take part in the voting, the MRD was hoist by its own petard, and refrained from even calling for the defeat of the ministers. Tuesday morning, the regime's liegemen rejoiced at "the new and genuinely Islamic era" that was thus dawning, in their view, on the "land of the pure." It remains to be seen how much real power the new Assembly will have and whether it will accept the role of rubber-stamp chamber for which it appears to be cast. Will Gen Zia, from another angle, keep his numerous promises, including the pledge to lift martial law "within a few months"?

Meanwhile a prime minister, selected from the Assembly by him, must be appointed, and a new cabinet formed. Technically dissolved on Monday night, the cabinet has been put together again with all the ministers who did not stand for election (ten or so) to handle current matters for the next several weeks.

6182

CSO: 4619/41

PAKISTAN

COMMENTARY ON POLITICAL SITUATION URGES LIFTING MARTIAL LAW

GF301320 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 26 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The Civil Government and Martial Law"]

[Excerpts] The National Assembly has expressed its unanimous confidence in the premier-designate. There is no doubt that some circles believe that a unanimous vote of confidence without any ostensible opposition is against democratic practice; however, in the present situation it seems appropriate. The capable and talented new prime minister has spoken very clearly in his first speech to the parliament on the subject that government and martial law cannot coexist. This would be tantamount to a bifurcation of policy and this would not create a healthy precedent.

In his first presidential address to the National Assembly, the president said that as soon as the new government gains control over the administration and national affairs, martial law will be gradually abolished. The first step toward giving the new government control over the administrative affairs is to remove martial law and give the new government an opportunity to work freely.

The 1973 Constitution which had been held in abeyance has been amended on a large scale and seems to have undergone a change. According to Pir of Pagaro [leader of a defunct party] it should now be called the 1985 constitution instead. According to these amendments most of the powers and final decisions rest with the president and whatever limited powers will be left in the hands of the prime minister or the civilian government cannot be exercised until the aegis of martial law continues. This was the reason for which the new prime minister said in his address to the National Assembly that he had informed the president the two things that cannot coexist are a civil government and martial law.

The prime minister has bold aspirations and dedication and is fully aware that numerous problems have accumulated in the 8 years of martial law and that besides these, the partyless nonpolitical elections will give rise to many complications which the civil government will have to resolve. The list of problems is quite long and includes foreign and internal problems, economic and administrative issues, and salinity and waterlogging which is destroying the lands, the incidences of bribery have increased and is eating away at our system, unemployment is rising and many educational matters remain

unresolved. Many unemployed workers are pouring in from abroad. These matters have been mentioned by the prime minister in his speech.

The prime minister has also mentioned Mr Gorbachev's latest threat which according to general opinion will be carried out with India's assistance. Thus the country is besieged by a host of difficulties at home and abroad and which demand that the army should return to its barracks and concentrate on its foremost duty of defending the country after delegating its powers to the civilian government and should assume its sacred obligation of safeguarding the frontiers.

In his speech on 23 March, the president said that his position is that of a head of state and he will remain the president for the next 5 years. His role should be like that of an affectionate head of family who gives advice whenever the civilian government requires it and then leaves all the work to the prime minister and his associates and gives them complete freedom to take the necessary initiatives. This is only possible if martial law is lifted as soon as possible.

CSO: 4656/106

PAKISTAN

REGIME STRENGTHENED BY ELECTION BOYCOTT FAILURE

Paris LE MONDE in French 27 Feb 85 pp 1, 7

[Article by Patrice Claude]

[Text] Voter turnout for the election on Monday 25 February to select an Islamic Assembly in Pakistan topped the 40-percent level, as President Zia Ul Haq hoped it would. Zia found the balloting a defeat for the opposition, which had called on voters to stay away from the polls. Six of the 11 cabinet ministers who ran, however, were defeated.

Islamabad -- He won his bet. As President Zia had asked them to do, between 17 and 18 million voters (out of 35 million) cast their ballots on Monday 25 February, amid the orderly calm the regime demanded, in the first "non-political" general elections in this country's history. There were a few violent clashes here and there among supporters of rival candidates in the four provinces, but the bottom line for the day (seven dead and about 13 injured) was, according to local journalists, "nothing unusual." The 1977 election, the last under the "old regime" of Ali Bhutto, had cost a score of lives.

True, President Zia's military-Islamic regime had taken due precautions and posted strong security forces at the 80,000 polling places throughout the country. The troops were called into action in Peshawar, Lahore, and Karachi, where they used batons to disperse more or less sizable groups of militants trying, according to the statutory language, "to disturb the voting."

Some 40 people were arrested, and some were charged and tried on the spot by special courts-martial. At Hashmore-Taluqa, in the Sind, three people, involved in a brawl that left six people hurt, were sentenced to 3 years in prison and a 5,000-rupee fine (about 3,000 francs). In Karachi four "agitators" caught in the act were found guilty and sentenced to a year in prison and 15 strokes of the lash apiece.

Gradually installed throughout the country over a period of several years, the Islamic law, according to one of the pillars of the regime, is now inevitable, and the process of Islamization should speed up. Questioned Monday afternoon in his district of Rawalpindi, near the capital, President Zia made no attempt to hide his immense satisfaction: "Our predictions (as to the number of voters) came true!" he exulted.

6182

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PAKISTAN

DECISION TO AMEND CONSTITUTION WITHOUT CONSULTING ASSEMBLY DENOUNCED

GF310810 Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 4 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The Constitutional Amendmends--But Why This Bitter Pill?"]

[Excerpts] The announcement by President Ziaul Haq on constitutional amendments may be a necessary evil on the way to democracy which the caravan must bear in order to move forward.

We are sure that whatever amendments the president has made will only last during his term of office. After him, another person will come and sing his own tune. This pattern will continue until the country has produced its independent institutions that would have a stronger voice to enable them to thwart any schemes made by any single individual or some such group. Unless the nation has developed political strength among its people, good or bad, it is expected to continue its constitutional experiments.

The constitutional amendments may be good or bad but we will not comment. Nor will we go into the motives behind such amendments. However, there is one thing worth noting: Before the ink was dry on the thumbs of the voters the newly-elected representatives were snubbed. This is not only highhanded but shortsighted as well. A majority of the people elected are those persons who have come to the National Assembly in order to restore democracy through cooperation with the president.

The people opposed to the president have in fact taken no part in the elections at all. They had boycotted the elections as they bitterly opposed President Ziaul Haq. But these people also wanted to get rid of martial law through this cooperation. However, President Ziaul Haq ignored these friends and well-wishers and did not even take into confidence the elected members of the National Assembly. He announced his amendments to the constitution without even consulting them.

Although the National Assembly has been recognized to have power to accept or reject the said amendments, the mechanism for such an act has been made very complicated and difficult. The procedure laid down for amendments may prove proper for normal amendments as it does lay down a procedure for debate and deliberations but it should not have been made applicable to amendments done by a single individual. Besides, the sword of martial law still hangs over

the head of the National Assembly. While this sword hangs over their heads it will not be possible for them to make any changes that they might wish to make.

The amendments were affected by a single individual and have adversely affected the good atmosphere which the impartial elections had created. If the president had waited and had let the National Assembly take up the amendments it would have been more proper.

Had the president given the National Assembly this choice, the assembly would have on its own struck a healthy balance between the powers of the president and the prime minister through appropriate amendments of its own. This would have pleased the elected members as well as the general public. It would have also maintained the prestige of the National Assembly.

The president's stance over the choice of the prime minister amounts to robbing the National Assembly of its legitimate right. When the president insisted that the prime minister should be a person who has the confidence of the house why did he insist on naming the prime minister himself? He should have left it to the assembly to choose its own man. Does the president believe that the National Assembly members are incapable of doing so?

Any man chosen by the president may never enjoy or enlist the confidence of the house or of the general public. It will be said that the prime minister was appointed not because of his own standing among the people but rather as an imposition and that he will never have the respect he deserves.

He would appeal to the president to allow the people to freely debate his amendments and that no restrictions be imposed on the press or the mass media regarding comments on the amendments. This would help the people and the assembly members know the pros and cons of the amendments and also show who and how many accept or reject them. Finally if the elected members decide to change or further amend them, the president should have little objection. The journey ahead certainly requires continued cooperation between the national legislature and the head of the administration. This kind of attitude will also help satisfy the elected members of the National Assembly.

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PAKISTAN

ELECTION OF ASSEMBLY SPEAKER WELCOMED

GF290936 Rawalpindi HAIDAR in Urdu 24 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Mr Fakr Imam's Success!"]

[Excerpts] The dramatic election of Mr Fakr Imam as the speaker of the National Assembly has startled political and government circles. There were two other candidates, Khwaja Safdar and Yasin Khan Wattoo. The former was considered to have the support of the government and the Muslim League members had hoped he would be elected unanimously.

There is a vast majority of members in the National Assembly who do not favor nominations or unopposed election of candidates. They believed that whoever is elected should not be elected unopposed hence a large number of MNA's [members of the National Assembly] persuaded Mr Fakr Imam to participate as a candidate. This made the members rejoice and even those who were opposed to him expressed admiration for his acquiescing to the candidacy. Thus, of the 230 MNA's, 119 voted in favor of Mr Fakr Imam and he was elected while his opponent Mr Khwaja Safdar received 111 votes. It is a happy turn of events for the National Assembly that Mr Fakr Imam has been elected since he is young, sensible, and moderate and believes in the restitution of democracy and democratic institutions. His success is the success of those MNA's who wish to see the end of martial law in the country and the restoration of basic human rights.

CSO: 4656/106

PAKISTAN

COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA SAID SPREADING IN SIND

GF260725 Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 21 Mar 85 p 3

[Article by Abu -a'jaz: "The Flood of Communist Literature in Sind"]

[Excerpts] There is a great deal more work being done in Sind to undermine Islamic ideology, literature, learning and unity among the universities, colleges and peasants, in the Sindhi language than in other provinces. Under this scheme the new generation in Sind is being pushed toward communism and extreme nationalism.

Millions of rupees are being spent to this purpose. Unfortunately there is little reaction against all this among patriotic circles or people on the national level. If there were such a reaction it could save Sind and its people from destruction. The callousness of the government over this matter is very annoying. Probably the government thinks that so long as it is left in peace no amount of work aimed at destroying the country's ideology should be a cause for concern. Another reason for the government's callousness could be that the government is in fact being run by people in the government machinery [the civil service]. These persons within the Sind administration are not only liberal about communism and apostasy but in some cases have a soft spot for both.

The work that has been done on behalf of communism in Sind over the past 2 years is demonstrated by the fact that some 108 books have so far appeared on such subjects as pure communism, the communist ideology, the lives of revolutionary communist leaders and the topics of liberation and armed rebellion. There are tens of publishing houses producing such literature in the Sindhi language. These publishers produce on the average of two books a week on these subjects. These books are distributed free in the universities, colleges, and among the literate population. Since literacy has increased in Sind compared to conditions 35 years ago, between 2,000 to 5,000 copies of such negative literature find easy customers among the population.

Such books have also appeared in the Urdu language mostly published in Lahore. Examples of these are Dr Mubashar's book, "Shahrah-e Inqilab" [The Highway to Revolution]; Sibte-e Hassan's book, "Musa and Marx" [Moses and Marx], or an album of Marx's photographs. However, compare to these Ibrahim Joyo's book "Shah Sachal Sami," has sold 5,000 copies in three editions. Communism as a

ideology has been refuted successfully, however, in other Urdu literature which explains Islam scientifically and logically and has used criticism to overcome the communist drive. Over the past years learned men and philosophers have written a great deal against communism in the Urdu language that has to a great extent overcome the impact of the communist literature.

However, there have been few such writers in the Sindhi language. The communists, finding the field empty, opened a relentless campaign in the Sindhi language aimed at the youth in colleges and universities. This young generation has been so won over that it, also due to local nationalism, hardly reads any Urdu literature. For example there is very little literature by Maulana Maududi in the Sindhi language.

It is a well-known fact that in modern times a false idea or a wrong thought if properly wrapped in scientific language can affect many minds. Nations are made to think by their philosophers. First the middle class absorbs their teachings, and they in turn convert the whole nation or a certain region to that thought. This has always been the way to any revolution.

In Sind Province local nationalistic literature has made the Sindhi middle class nationalists during that past 35 years. This attitude has given the Soviets an opportunity to exploit local religious antagonism by introducing communistic ideas into the local parochialism. Their idea is to present communism as an ideology, logical and scientific, that would seem the only solution or the way for the locals.

I will name some of the books that have been issued over the past 2 years or so. They are by no means the complete list of communist books being distributed in Sind. They are "The Marxist Philosophy" by Joseph Stalin, "The Life and Teachings of Marx and Engels," "Nation and Nationhood" by Joseph Stalin, and "Our Lenin." Among recent writings there are "The Revolutionary Soldiers" by Gobind Malahu, "Zindagi" [Life], "Rebellion and Freedom," "I Am a Rebel" by Brishan Chandra, "Stories from Vietnam," "The Demand for Self-Determination," "The Negro," "Love and Rebellion," and "The Right to Self-Determination of Nations" by Lenin.

In our country the social differences created by the big landowners over the past centuries, and the system of high and low classes that they have created, together with absence of a democratic system have created the problem of parochialism which in turn has affected the minds of the people in Sind. To combat this one must present Islam to the young generation of literate Sindhis who have been affected by the communist propaganda. There should be literature in the Sindhi language on every aspect of Islam. Only such literature can change the tide of current events. Any superficial measures in this connection will prove ineffective. Only such literature as suggested above will cleanse Sind of the communist ideas that have now entered the Sindhi mind.

In this connection, I appeal to the thinking people in Sind to wake up and shoulder our duties before Sind is carried away in a flood of communist

literature. It is up to the writers in Sind to produce literature on Islam in the Sindhi language. Fortunately there are tens of such writers in that province who could do that provided they had the necessary funds.

One should be aware that the Soviet Union attaches special importance to this part of Pakistan because of its vast natural resources, its coastline and its proximity to the Islamic and Arab world. The Soviet Union has several interests in this region. What it is trying to achieve here is to produce a few thousand communist-minded individuals among the literate class and to then foment trouble in the area and create political chaos and then usurp the region. It is possible that the Soviet Union will use India to start trouble in this area and to lay the ideological groundwork in Sind. Soviet influence in this region can only be resisted through ideological literature. One should create conditions that would stop the spread of communist ideas here just as Islamic thought has stopped communism in Afghanistan.

CSO: 4656/105

PAKISTAN

NEW POLITICAL ERA SAID A 'STRINGENT TEST'

GF250550 Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 21 Mar 85 p 3

[Editorial: "The New Era is a Stringent Test!"]

[Excerpts] Foreign Minister Sahibzada Yaqub Khan has said that the newly elected National Assembly members are mostly young educated people who have won their positions on the basis of their own merit and the nation rightly has high expectations of them. He was speaking to correspondents at a reception in Islamabad for the newly elected members.

The whole nation joins in the sentiments aired by the foreign minister. The way has been paved for the restitution of democracy and the end of martial law.

The country has lost a lot because of the repeated imposition of martial law and now the restoration of democracy will mark the beginning of an era of progress. This, however, depends on the nomination of the prime minister and chief ministers as well as the performance of the members of the national and provincial assemblies. They should bear in mind that the portfolios and representational positions they have acquired are not just status symbols, but also mean a time of test and trial. Their performance will not only be assessed by the people of Pakistan but by both friends and enemies abroad who will be keeping a watch over their sincerity in putting the country on the right path.

The 1973 constitution has been amended and this has been a topic for much discussion and need not be debated here. However, what has created a very bad impression is that the amendments have been revised and some laws have been promulgated and hastily repealed. It is imperative now that all further amendments be carefully considered beforehand. Actually, the amendments should be left to the assembly to give rise to the feeling that everything is being done in accordance with the constitution and so that the matter of amendments should not become a target of ridicule. A genuine and sincere effort must be made to establish those institutions and traditions which are considered the foundations and pillars of the democratic process so that the world will not say that, although the people of the country desire a model democracy, the rulers and elected representatives are proving themselves incompetent and have not been able to manage this system owing to their greed for posts and positions or other material considerations and have been incapable of doing what is necessary for the country's stability and progress.

CSO: 4656/106

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

CHINESE NAVY DELEGATION--A 5-member Chinese Navy delegation led by the deputy chief of staff of the Chinese Navy, (Hu Weishun), arrived in Islamabad on 29 March on a 14-day official visit to Pakistan. [Text]
[Karachi Overseas Service in Urdu 0500 GMT 30 Mar 85 BK]

MALAYSIAN DEFENSE DELEGATION--The leader of a 5-member Malaysian defense delegation, Tan Sri Datuk Mohamed Yussof Bin Abdul Rahman, had a short meeting with President Mohammad Ziaul Haq in Rawapindi yesterday. [Text]
[Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 1 Apr 85 BK]

POLITICIANS FORM PARTY--London, 30 March--A new political party is being formed which has been named the Sindhi-Pashtun-Baluchistan Front by the "exiled" political leaders of the three provinces. A Sind-Baluchistan committee was formed in London in 1983 and was functioning as a cultural forum. This will also be merged in the front. The most important objective of this front is that there should be autonomy for provincial groups, and that every province should be an equal member of a loose federation. Among the members of this federation are Sardar Ataullah Mengal, Afzal Bengash, Mumtaz Bhutto, Mr Hafiz Pirzada, and Jam Sadiq Ali. Informed sources state that a convener is to be appointed in Pakistan, who will strive for the rights of the minorities. These sources state that this front is being set up as there is a ban on political parties in Pakistan. It is speculated that Mumtaz Bhutto will be the convener in Pakistan, and he is due to return soon. Mr Hafiz Pirzada will be secretary-general. [Text] [Lahore NAWA-E WAQT in Urdu 31 Mar 85 p 1]

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